DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 359 771 FL 021 224

AUTHOR	Chen, Fred, Ed.; And Others
TITLE	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics, Volume 9, Number 1, Spring 1993.
INSTITUTION	Pennsylvania Univ., Philadelphia. Graduate School of Education.
PUB DATE	93
NOTE	147p.; For individual papers, see FL 021 225-230.
PUB TYPE	Collected Works - General (020)
JOURNAL CIT	Working Papers in Educational Linguistics; v9 n1 Spr 1993
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC06 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Applied Linguistics; Case Studies; College Second Language Programs; Communication Problems; *Cooperative Learning; Cultural Awareness; Culture Conflict; Elementary Secondary Education; Higher Education; Language Planning; Language Research; *Language Role; Limited English Speaking; *Multicultural Education; Second Language Instruction; *Statewide Planning; Student Role
IDENTIFIERS	*Arkansas; *University of Pennsylvania

ABSTRACT

This issue of a journal designed to serve as a forum for the exchange of ideas among students and scholars on various aspects of linguistics in education contains the following papers: "The Importance of Participant Role in Cooperative Learning" (Rebecca Freeman); "The Trap of Generalization: A Case of Encountering a New Culture" (Masakazu Iino); "'Sticking Points': Effects of Instruction on NNS Refusal Strategies" (Kendall A. King, Rita Elaine Silver); "Planning Language-in-Education in Arkansas: A Case Study" (Felicia Lincoln-Porter); "Foreign Language Teaching at the University of Pennsylvania: A Language Planning Case Study" (Kristin I. Loheyde); and "Story, Voice, and Culture: The Politics of Narrative in Multicultural Education" (Cathy Luna). (MSE)

****
*   Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made   *
*   from the original document.   *
****

ED359771

WPEL

WORKING PAPERS
IN
EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS

Volume 9, Number 1 / Spring 1993

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

- Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Cheryl Donnelly
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

FL021224

University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics

Editors:
Fred Chen, Cheryl Donnelly,
and Rita Elaine Silver

Language in Education Division
Graduate School of Education
University of Pennsylvania

Division Faculty

Teresa Pica, Chair
Morton Botel
Vivian Gadsden
Nancy Hornberger
Susan Lytle
Rebecca Freeman

Programs

Educational Linguistics
TESOL
Intercultural Communication
Reading/Writing/Literacy

Volume 9, Number 1 / Spring, 1993

STUDY
LANGUAGE AND EDUCATION
AT PENN

EDUCATIONAL LINGUISTICS
TESOL
INTERCULTURAL COMMUNICATION
READING / WRITING / LITERACY

COURSES INCLUDE:

Educational Linguistics/Sociolinguistics/Second Language Acquisition/Teaching Reading to Second Language Learners/Language Diversity and Education/Classroom Discourse and Interaction/Social and Historical Perspectives on Literacy/Multicultural Issues in Education/Forming and Reforming the Reading and Language Arts Curriculum/TESOL Methodology/Language Planning and Language Policy/Structure of English

M.S. Ed., Ed.D., Ph.D.
Full and part-time
Scholarships and Fellowships

For detailed information, clip and mail to: Admissions Office, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, PA 19104-6216

Name ____________________

Address ____________________

____

Please send information about ____________________

May, 1993

From the Editors:

The purpose of *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics (WPEL)* is to present works in progress by students and professors on topics ranging from speech act analysis and classroom discourse to language planning and second language acquisition. Papers in *WPEL* are generally based on research carried out for courses offered in the Language in Education Division of the Graduate School of Education at the University of Pennsylvania.

It is our intention that *WPEL* will continue to be a forum for the exchange of ideas among scholars in the field of educational linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania and at universities with similar programs in educational and applied linguistics around the world. *WPEL* is sent to nearly one hundred universities world-wide.

We hope that you will find this issue both useful and stimulating.

Acknowledgements

We gratefully acknowledge the following individuals whose help and cooperation made this publication possible: Dean Marvin Lazerson, Keith Watanabe, Lorraine Hightower, John Irwin and David Jiang.

All correspondence should be addressed to:

Working Papers in Educational Linguistics
Language in Education Division, GSE
University of Pennsylvania
3700 Walnut Street
Philadelphia, PA 19104

Contents

✓The importance of participant role in cooperative learning

Rebecca Freeman 1

✓The trap of generalization: A case of encountering a new culture

Masakazu Iino 21

✓"Sticking points": Effects of instruction on NNS refusal strategies

Kendall A. King & Rita Elaine Silver 47

Planning language-in-education in Arkansas: A case study

Felicia Lincoln-Porter 83

Foreign language teaching at the University of Pennsylvania: A language planning case study

Kristin I. Loheyde 105

✓Story, voice, and culture: The politics of narrative in multicultural education

Cathy Luna 127

The importance of participant role in cooperative learning

Rebecca Freeman
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

This paper demonstrates a way that language teachers can use discourse analysis to understand how small group interaction defines students' participant roles relative to each other, and illustrates how the interaction can either limit or enhance students' opportunities to participate and negotiate meaning. Equipped with this understanding, the teacher can intervene to change limiting organizations. In addition, the teacher can encourage the students' development of useful strategies by making them explicit.

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to demonstrate a way that language teachers can use discourse analysis to understand the dynamics within cooperative learning groups and their effect on students' opportunities to participate. The analysis I present compares the participant role of one 21 year old Japanese male student in two different pairs to illustrate his change from non-participant to participant in a low-intermediate conversation class.

My discourse analysis incorporates insights and methodologies from speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, ethnography of communication, and social psychology, and requires conceptualizing the class as an emergent, dynamic culture in which the management of participation by teachers and students is a negotiated process. I emphasize the dual functions of language. The first function is obvious: language communicates information. The second function of language is less obvious, but perhaps more important: language defines the social situation. Of specific relevance to my discussion is the power of language to shape participant roles within the classroom culture.

As teacher, I have the privileged position to be both participant and observer, or ethnographer, of the classroom culture that my students and I jointly create. For example, when the students are organized in cooperative learning groups, part of my job as facilitator is to observe and understand the norms of interaction that the students negotiate so that I can encourage the students' development of strategies beneficial to their English language acquisition. My ethnographic understanding provides an explanation for the patterns I identify through discourse analysis of their small group interaction. This information, further supported by student interpretations of their own interaction, enables me to answer the question, "What's going on here and why?"

Role of Small Groups

As teachers, we are concerned with the effects of our classroom organization on our students' opportunities and abilities to participate, especially when the goal is to develop conversational competence. It becomes particularly challenging to create a classroom culture in which all students participate more or less equally, given large numbers of students, culturally diverse backgrounds, distinct learning styles, and various affective responses to the ESL classroom experience in specific and to speaking English in general. Small group cooperative learning organizations have been shown to offer students increased opportunities to participate.

Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research considers small groups a means of increasing student opportunity to negotiate meaning. For example, Pica and Doughty (1986) demonstrate how small groups of students working on tasks in which there is an information gap provides increased opportunities for students to modify input. Long (1983) argues that modification of input makes the input comprehensible to the learner–a necessary condition for second language acquisition. While this research illustrates the increased opportunity for small groups of students to use language to communicate information, it does not address the second function of language—that of defining the social situation. In particular, how do students negotiate their participant roles within the small group interaction?

In her ethnography of communication, *The Invisible Culture*, Philips (1983) demonstrates how the teacher's ratification process and her organization of classroom activities into various participant structures or groupings define the Anglo students as participants and the Warm Springs Indian children as non-participants in the classroom discourse. She relates the Warm Springs Indian children's micro-level roles in the classroom discourse to their macro-level non-participant position in, first, educational and, later, occupational discourse. My ethnographic research in a "successful" developmental bilingual public elementary school discusses the role of cooperative learning in promoting multicultural interaction in which students are defined as more or less equal participants regardless of their linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Freeman, forthcoming).

In sum, SLA research emphasizes the role of small groups in increasing opportunity to transfer information and negotiate meaning, and ethnography of communication research emphasizes the role of small groups in defining students as more or less equal participants despite sociocultural differences (see Olsen & Kagan, 1992 for further discussion). But what happens when a student still does not participate, even in pair work, and the ongoing classroom experience seems to confirm his status as a non-participant in the classroom discourse? Hitoshi, a 21-year-old Japanese male with an apparently high level of language anxiety, seemed to participate less and less as the semester progressed, regardless of the groupings or activities I organized. Based on my comparative analysis of Hitoshi's initially unsuccessful and subsequently successful paired interaction, I argue that it is important for teachers to understand how small group interaction defines students relative to each other, and how the students' adopted roles limit or enhance their second language acquisition.

Interdisciplinary Discourse Analytic Approach

As I was analyzing the interaction of two dyads in which Hitoshi participated, I observed how the discourse strategies (e.g., prosody, repetition, questioning, interruption/overlap, pausing) that Hitoshi's two partners used functioned together to shape Hitoshi's participant role very differently from one interaction to the next. My analysis was informed by contributions from speech act theory, interactional sociolinguistics, ethnomethodology, work on participation framework, and Soviet Psychology, which I review in turn below.

Speech Act Theory

I borrow the basic premise of speech act theory: that people use language not only to describe the world, but to change it by relying on public, shared conventions (Austin, 1975). Consistent with the notion of speech act analyzed by ethnographers of communication yet distinct from the notion of speech act commonly analyzed by linguists, I take the position that interpretation of speech acts depends on features of context and interaction.

But how does language uttered by speakers and interpreted by hearers in context perform action? More specifically, how do the discourse strategies that Hitoshi's partners use function together to shape Hitoshi's participant role relative to theirs in the interaction? The research discussed below provides insights into how to answer these questions.

Interactional Sociolinguistics

According to Gumperz and Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1982), conversational involvement, or an observable state of being in coordinated interaction, is the basis of all linguistic strategies. Without involvement, there is no shared meaning. Gumperz and Hymes (1972) and Gumperz (1982) demonstrate how prosody functions to achieve coherence in spoken discourse as well as interpersonal involvement. Of particular interest to my analysis is the function of rising intonation.

Tannen (1986; 1989) also investigates linguistic strategies that achieve interpersonal involvement, but her emphasis is on the joint construction of meaning by conversational partners. She argues that the more work hearers do to supply meaning, the deeper their understanding and the greater their sense of involvement with both the text and the speaker. For example, her work illustrates how repetition facilitates production and comprehension of language, connects speakers to the discourse and to each other, and helps accomplish the social goal of managing the business of conversation. She argues that these functions of repetition simultaneously provide an overarching function of coherence and interpersonal involvement. In her work on conversational style, Tannen (1986) demonstrates that interruption is not necessarily negative and that overlap often shows involvement.

Research in interactional sociolinguistics illustrates how interpersonal involvement is accomplished through interlocutors' use of prosody (Gumperz & Hymes, 1972; Gumperz, 1982), repetition (Tannen, 1986; 1989), and overlap (Tannen, 1986). Conversely, I argue that the absence of these discourse strategies demonstrates a lack of involvement which can contribute to an interlocutor's sense of being a non-participant in the interaction.

Ethnomethodology/Conversation Analysis

Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) and Schegloff (1982; 1988) argue that conversation is an interactional achievement. They demonstrate how the turn-taking mechanism functions, for example in the role of pauses in allocating the next turn, and the supportive interactional work provided by back channel cues such as "uhhuh" and

"Oh really?" Their micro-level analysis illustrates the orderly nature of conversation, which they describe in terms of adjacency pairs (e.g., Question:Answer) and preference relations. For example, since the preferred response to a question is an answer, participants can expect an answer when they interpret a question in the ongoing conversation. A speaker's use of the less preferred response (e.g., another question) would be evaluative.

While Fishman (1978) also assumes that conversation is an interactional achievement, she argues that the conversational work is not equally distributed by men and women. She illustrates the supportive conversational role that women assume through, for example, their use of questioning and back channel cues, and the dominating conversational role that men assume through, for example, their topic shifting and interruption. Although her work has been criticized for overgeneralizing based on a limited sample, it initiated a tremendous interest among feminist researchers in how within conversation power relations are reflected, either perpetuated or challenged, and (potentially) transformed. The notion of conversational distribution of power relations and resulting role definitions is relevant to my analysis.

Participation Framework/Floor Distribution

Philips' ethnography of communication in schools (1983) builds on Goffman's (1981) notion of participation framework, or the relation of all the participants in the interaction to the utterance. Following Goffman's (1981) notion of ratified vs. unratified speakers and listeners in an interaction, Philips' (1983) demonstrates that if students' utterances are not ratified by the teacher over time, the students are defined as non-participants in the interaction. The same argument applies to participants in any interaction; if their conversational contributions are not ratified by the other interlocutors, they are defined as non-participants.

This brings us to the notion of floor distribution–which refers to who talks when, where, and how much (Edelsky, 1981; Philips, 1983). Edelsky's analysis of mixed-sex university committee meetings (1981) and Philips' classroom ethnography (1983) demonstrate how the distribution of speaking time and the way turns are allocated reveal power relations among participants in the interaction, contributing to the definition of participant role.

Activity Theory

Soviet Psychology Activity Theory (see Wertsch, 1985 for further discussion) assumes that individuals learn how to participate in activities by participating in them with more experienced members of the culture. As with the research discussed above, the emphasis is on interaction. Vygotsky's notion of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) provides a means of understanding the interactional work that students do for each other in small groups, and is defined as, "the distance between a child's '*actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving*' and the higher level of '*potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers*'" (1978:86, cited in Wertsch, 1985:67-68). As one student assumes the role of a more capable peer, she/he helps the other participate appropriately in the activity, which leads to the less capable peer's socialization through language to use language appropriately.

This brief interdisciplinary survey provides an understanding of conversation jointly constructed between interlocutors. Success depends on participants' demonstrating involvement with each other and with the meaning they are negotiating together. In other words, conversation is an interactional achievement. Similarly, learning in general, and second language acquisition in particular, is an interactional achievement.

Some of the literature cited above describes the interactional work that particular discourse strategies do in contributing to participants' ability to negotiate meaning, and therefore to their successful conversation. Other literature demonstrates how participants' differential use of discourse strategies can lead to asymmetrical definitions of participant role in the interaction. As the discourse analysis, below, illustrates, unequal role relationships can block students' opportunities to negotiate meaning. Since second language acquisition depends on opportunities for learner to negotiate meaning, it is important for teachers to understand students' roles relative to each other. Equipped with this understanding, the teacher can intervene to change limiting organizations. In addition, the teacher can encourage the students' development of strategies that are successful by making them explicit.

Identification of the Problem

During the summer of 1991, I was teaching in an intensive English program at a private college in Baltimore, MD. My low-intermediate conversation class consisted of 18 university age students from around the world, with a minimum of six years of English instruction in their native countries but little to no experience speaking English. During whole class discussions, six or seven of the students tended to monopolize the floor. In small groups of three to five, most of the students regularly participated in animated discussions, but Hitoshi would never participate in any of these groupings. I organized the students into pairs, assuming dyads would provide all of the students, and especially Hitoshi, the opportunity to participate.

The excerpts that I present here come from one part in an on-going lesson plan. For this part, I gave each student in the dyad a different set of interview questions from *Face to Face: A Cross-Cultural Workbook* (Zanger, 1985) about the same general topic. The students taped their paired interviews in the language lab and gave me the tapes.

At first, I paired Hitoshi with Ali Reza, an outgoing Iranian who is friendly with everyone, assuming that this would create an opportunity for Hitoshi to talk. They finished well before the other students who were all still actively engaged in their interviews. Hitoshi and Ali Reza were quiet, which was rare for Ali Reza. When I approached them to ask how the interview was, Ali Reza said that they had finished, and Hitoshi, who had been looking down and slouching as Ali Reza talked to me, looked at me and said quietly, "I can't."

Although Ali Reza said they had finished, I interpreted Hitoshi's utterance and his body language as frustration at his perceived inability to speak sufficient English to successfully conduct the interview with Ali Reza. I want to emphasize that I do not mean that Hitoshi could not speak English. Instead, I think that he *perceived himself* as unable to speak English because of his interactional experience in the classroom. The point is that Hitoshi's seeing himself as someone who could not speak English, and therefore not a legitimate participant in the interaction, contributed to his inability to speak English, making negotiation of meaning and further second language acquisition impossible. Alternatively stated, in order to negotiate meaning in English, Hitoshi needed the opportunity to see himself as a legitimate participant in the classroom interaction, one who could in fact speak enough English to negotiate meaning with his partner.

My interpretation of Hitoshi's frustration led me to analyze the discourse of Hitoshi and Ali Reza's interaction. Based on my findings that Hitoshi was taking on the role of non-participant even in pair-work, I decided to regroup the students.

For the next interview, I paired Hitoshi with Myung Mi, a 23 year old Korean female. Their interview lasted longer than any of the other students' that day; the two of them seemed to be actively involved with each other. In this case, Hitoshi seemed to see himself as someone who could speak English and negotiate meaning. Because it was obvious that whatever they were doing was working, I decided to analyze the discourse of that interaction to see what had happened to change Hitoshi's participant role.

Analysis

In this section, I present excerpts from Hitoshi and Ali Reza's unsuccessful interaction, and then compare it to Hitoshi and Myung Mi's successful interaction to illustrate how Hitoshi's participant role was defined in very different ways. I argue that Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interview provided Hitoshi with his first opportunity to see himself as a legitimate participant in our conversation class, which contributed to his changed participant role from that point on in the semester in whatever grouping I organized.

Transcription Key

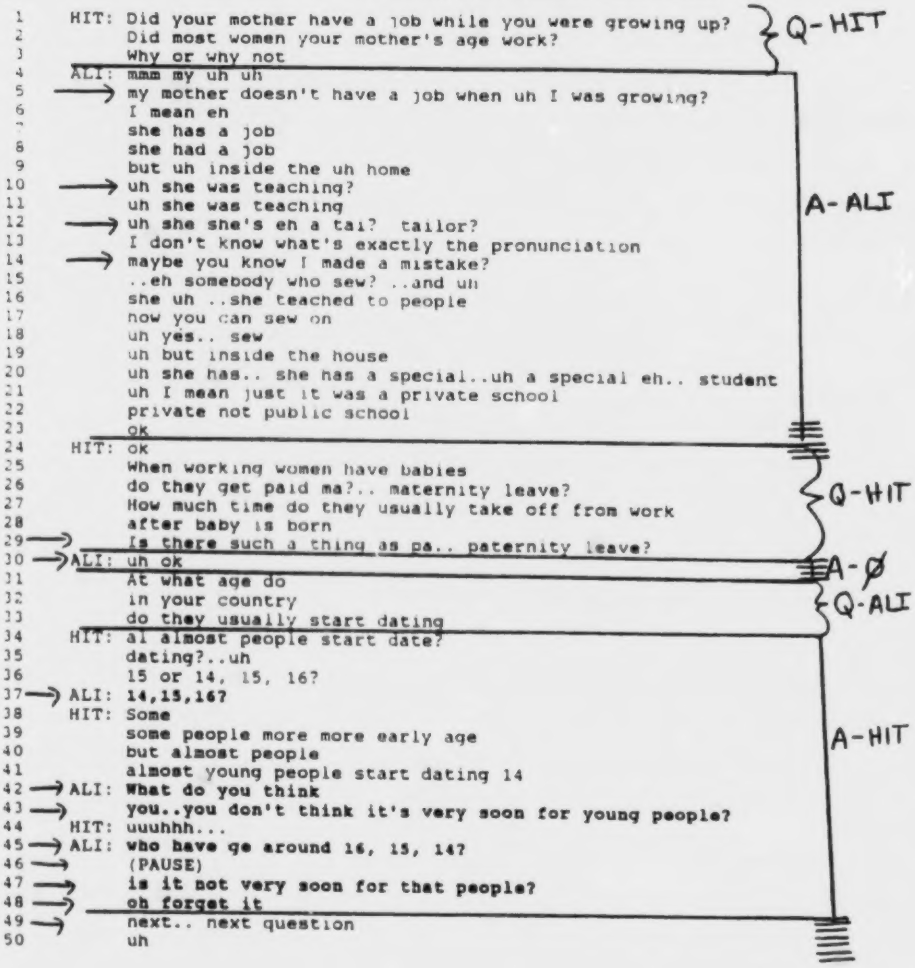
Participants		Right Margin notes	
HIT:	Hitoshi	**Q-HIT**	Question Hitoshi asked
ALI:	Ali Reza	**A-ALI**	Answer Ali Reza gave
MYU:	Myung Mi		
?	rising intonation (not a syntactic question)		
..	pause	PAUSE	relatively long pause
BOLD TYPE	S-2's contribution	[	overlap/interruption during S-1's turn
______ ______ ______	turn transition		

arrows indicate a line discussed in the text

Excerpt 1, between Hitoshi and Ali Reza, illustrates how their interaction defined Hitoshi as a non-participant. At the beginning of the interview, which is not included here, Ali Reza had told Hitoshi to ask his questions first, setting up their turn-taking mechanism with no negotiation. Hitoshi read his questions and Ali Reza answered. They demonstrated little conversational involvement in each others' contributions, and Ali Reza alone determined which questions he would answer.

Ali Reza's response from lines 4-23 is representative of the other turns throughout the interview. As the lack of bold face print makes immediately obvious, Hitoshi was not at all involved in Ali Reza's talk. There was no repetition, no joint construction of meaning, no response at all from Hitoshi. Ali Reza's use of rising intonation in line 5, "she does not have a job when I was growing?" line 10, "uh she was teaching?" and line 12, "uh she she's eh a tai? tailor?" could be interpreted as requests for supportive back channel cues to show listenership, or in the case of line 14, "maybe you know I made a mistake?" almost a direct invitation for Hitoshi to confirm his contribution or correct his mistake. Hitoshi did not respond. Ali Reza did all of the interactional work himself. He signaled the end of his turn with the discourse marker, "ok," in line 23. Hitoshi, in line 24, ratified the end of Ali Reza's turn and proceeded to the next question.

Excerpt 1: Hitoshi/ Ali Reza Interview: Male/Female Roles



```
1        HIT: Did your mother have a job while you were growing up?
2             Did most women your mother's age work?
3             Why or why not
4        ALI: mmm my uh uh
5   →         my mother doesn't have a job when uh I was growing?
6             I mean eh
7             she has a job
8             she had a job
9             but uh inside the uh home
10  →         uh she was teaching?
11            uh she was teaching
12  →         uh she she's eh a tai?  tailor?
13            I don't know what's exactly the pronunciation
14  →         maybe you know I made a mistake?
15            ..eh somebody who sew? ..and uh
16            she uh ..she teached to people
17            now you can sew on
18            uh yes.. sew
19            uh but inside the house
20            uh she has.. she has a special..uh a special eh.. student
21            uh I mean just it was a private school
22            private not public school
23            ok
24       HIT: ok
25            When working women have babies
26            do they get paid ma?.. maternity leave?
27            How much time do they usually take off from work
28            after baby is born
29  →         Is there such a thing as pa.. paternity leave?
30  →    ALI: uh ok
31            At what age do
32            in your country
33            do they usually start dating
34       HIT: al almost people start date?
35            dating?..uh
36            15 or 14, 15, 16?
37  →    ALI: 14,15,16?
38       HIT: Some
39            some people more more early age
40            but almost people
41            almost young people start dating 14
42  →    ALI: What do you think
43  →         you..you don't think it's very soon for young people?
44       HIT: uuuhhh...
45  →    ALI: who have ge around 16, 15, 14?
46  →         (PAUSE)
47  →         is it not very soon for that people?
48  →         oh forget it
49  →         next.. next question
50            uh
```

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

After Hitoshi finished the question in line 29, Ali Reza provided no answer. Perhaps he did not know what maternity or paternity leave meant, but he did not ask Hitoshi to help him with the meaning, perhaps he did not think the question was worth answering. However, after a question, especially in an interview situation (where the interviewer is in a more powerful position) a response or an explanation for non-response is expected. In this case, one would have expected an explanation for Ali Reza's lack of response, especially given the class assignment format.

With line 30, "uh Ok," Ali Reza took the floor and began his questioning. Hitoshi said nothing about Ali Reza's avoidance of his question and answered Ali Reza's question. In line 37, Ali Reza repeated Hitoshi's utterance, "14, 15, 16?" with rising intonation, which functioned as ratification of his listenership, and as a request for more information. This question and the question in lines 42-43,

> What do you think
> you...you don't think it's very soon for young people?

demonstrate that Ali Reza was beginning to get involved in the conversation with Hitoshi. Ali Reza requested Hitoshi's opinion concerning a custom in Japan which is very different from customs in Iran. Based on my observations and discourse analysis of other group interactions, I recognize this as the kind of question that normally would elicit student talk. The students are the experts and they are generally very interested in learning from each other. Hitoshi paused in line 44, "uuuh." Ali Reza seemed to interpret this as a request for clarification so, in line 45, Ali Reza expanded his question, repeating what Hitoshi had said. There was a long pause which clearly signaled it was Hitoshi's turn. Ali Reza repeated his slightly modified question in line 47, "is it not very soon for that young people," but in line 48, "oh forget it, next question." Ali Reza's utterance positioned Hitoshi as unable to respond to the question. Given Hitoshi's inability to provide more information (real or simply perceived by Ali Reza), joint construction of meaning was futile . Ali Reza made no further attempts at conversational involvement; instead he proceeded to the next question.

The second excerpt from Hitoshi and Ali Reza's interview follows. This excerpt illustrates the dynamic that had been established by the end of Hitoshi and Ali Reza's interview and provides a basis for comparison with Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interaction. It is obvious that Hitoshi's turns were very short, with little response by Ali Reza. None of the questions led to conversations in which they got involved with each other and jointly constructed meaning. They were simply getting the job done. Ali Reza's only contribution in the first question came in line 82 where he repeated Hitoshi's utterance "before marriage." This ratified Ali Reza's understanding and marked the end of that question. Hitoshi's response to Ali Reza's next question was no longer. This time Ali Reza made two contributions. In line 91, "in your country?" Ali Reza requested clarification. Hitoshi responded, "no." Ali Reza did not seem to understand what this "no" meant, so he rephrased the question in line 93, "they have to get permission from their parents." Hitoshi provided the minimal response, "uhhum."

The last question that Ali Reza asked was only the sixth question out of eleven on his interview. In line 95 Ali Reza said, "ok that's good" and turned off their tape. He did not ask Hitoshi the rest of the questions; Ali Reza took total control of how and when the interview would end.

Excerpt 2: Hitoshi/ Ali Reza (Later in same interview)

72 ALI: ok
73 is it common for a man and woman
74 who eh are not married
75 to live together
76 is it accepted in your country
Q-ALI
77 HIT: No no we uh
78 no some some people uh
79 do together uh
80 some people to live together
81 uh before marriage
82 → ALI: **before marriage**
A-HIT
83 OK
84 When a man and woman want to get married
85 do they usually ask their parents or tell them
86 Is it a problem if a son or daughter
87 wants to marry
88 somone outside his or her religion, race or ethnic group
Q-ALI
89 HIT: uhhum
90 almost parents said no
91 → ALI: **in your country?**
92 HIT: no
93 → ALI: **they have to get permission from their parents?**
94 HIT: uhhum
A-HIT
95 → ALI: Ok that's good (turned off tape)

To summarize the dynamics of Hitoshi and Ali Reza's pair work: Ali Reza determined the turn-taking mechanism, with Hitoshi asking all of his questions and then Ali Reza asking his. Ali Reza even determined which questions he would answer and how many questions he would ask with no negotiation of this decision. Hitoshi contributed nothing to Ali Reza's turns, even when invited in by Ali Reza's use of rising intonation. Hitoshi's turns were short, and Ali Reza's original attempts to make conversation were unsuccessful. Instead of working at conversational involvement, there was none. Even in a dyad, which is supposed to provide opportunities to participate, Hitoshi still seemed to be defined as a non-participant who could not speak English.

About two weeks later, we went on to a new unit and I paired Hitoshi with Myung Mi. I present two excerpts from their successful pair interaction which I think helped contribute to Hitoshi being redefined as a legitimate participant in the English classroom culture. I base this claim on my observation that Hitoshi's behavior changed dramatically from this point on in the semester in whatever grouping or activity I organized.

The first excerpt comes from the beginning of their interview and illustrates how Hitoshi and Myung Mi jointly negotiated their turn-taking, including what constituted a turn. I argue that Myung Mi's interactional work forced Hitoshi to take on the role of equal in their interaction, which provided him with his first opportunity to see himself as a legitimate participant in the classroom culture.

Excerpt 3 Hitoshi/Myung Mi Interview: Youth Culture

1 MYU: Hitoshi uh..do do most parents in your culture feel
2 that teenagers are difficult to control or get along with? Q-MYU
3 (PAUSE)
4 → HIT: yes... uh yes uh..
5 → MYU: yes I think so
6 → your culture . uh Korean culture
7 → I think uh .. very similar? A-HIT
8 → HIT: uhhuh
9 → MYU: yes?
10 → HIT: yes
11 → MYU: so? (PAUSE)
12 → HIT: uh ...
13 → if parents and teenagers disagree
14 what might they disagree about Q-HIT
15 MYU: my parents...are very serious
16 and...uh....I I know
17 my parents are very serious to me
18 uh.. when I.. when I was young..young age
19 my parents said to me
20 you..must..study..hard (changed voice) A-MYU
21 so.. I don't like study
22 but..I don't like study
23 just eh um..my parents
24 you must study (changed voice)
25 you must study (changed voice)

26 but...but...
27 I'm I'm I'm enjoyed with my friend
28 → yes
29 → HIT: yes ok (Pause)
30 → my?.. my experience?
31 → yes?
32 → MYU: yes
33 → HIT: I think almost teenagers don't don't like uh..
34 agree with pare[nts
35 MYU: [yeah
36 HIT: but..my my experience.. uh
37 sometime my father said
38 you don't have to.. study
39 alot of [uh A-HIT
40 MYU: [yes?
41 HIT: uh but
42 if he said uh
43 uh I want to study very hard ?
44 (BOTH LAUGH)
45 yeah
46 → sometime he said.. he said opposite
47 → MYU: opposite?
48 → HIT: opposite
49 MYU: yeah?
50 HIT: yeah (PAUSE)
51 MYU: Number 3?
52 HIT: uhhum

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

At the beginning of the interview, Hitoshi was taking on the same role–non-participant–with Myung Mi as he did with Ali Reza. Myung Mi began the interview by asking her question (lines 1 and 2). There was a relatively long pause. Hitoshi, in line 4, answered her question with a minimal response, "yes...uh yes uh.." After Hitoshi's pause in line 4, Myung Mi began to answer for Hitoshi in lines 5 through 7, "yes I think so your culture uh Korean culture I think uh.. very similar." Vygotsky's notion of the Zone of Proximal Development (in Wertsch, 1985) is useful here in understanding the interactional work that Myung Mi did for Hitoshi. She took on the role of a more capable peer in the interaction and began to speak for him. Hitoshi ratified her contribution for him in line 8, "uhhuh."

Recall that in Hitoshi and Ali Reza's interview, first Hitoshi asked all of the questions and then Ali Reza asked all of the questions. In excerpt 3, Myung Mi asked Hitoshi two follow-up questions and paused–in line 9, "yes?" and line 11, "so?" Consistent with Hitoshi's participation in every interaction that I observed up to this interview, Hitoshi provided the minimal response, "yes," and "uhuh."

Myung Mi's interactional work, however, required more than this minimal response. In line 12, Hitoshi said, "uh..." and paused. Myung Mi demonstrated that it was Hitoshi's turn by not responding. Instead of elaborating on what Myung Mi had started, Hitoshi asked the first question from his interview. He saved face by taking his turn; he also avoided talking more in response to Myung Mi's question. As a result, he set up the floor distribution of their interview: first Myung Mi asks, then Hitoshi asks. This negotiation of turn taking is considerably different from the one-sidedness of Hitoshi and Ali Reza's interaction.

Several features of Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interaction contributed to Hitoshi's increased opportunity to participate. Myung Mi answered Hitoshi's question with a relatively long answer from her own experience. In line 28, Myung Mi signaled the end of her turn with her utterance, "yes." In line 29, Hitoshi ratified her answer with his utterance, "yes ok." Given the allocation of turns that had been set up, it should have been Myung Mi's turn to ask the next question. There was a pause. Myung Mi did not ask a question from her interview. This clearly signaled Hitoshi's turn. In line 30, he questioned, "my my experience?" Myung Mi did not respond verbally. Hitoshi in line 31 asked again if it was his turn to provide his experience with his utterance, "yes?" Myung Mi's utterance in line 32, "yes," indicated that this was correct. Myung Mi and Hitoshi negotiated their participant roles so that both were on equal footing and both of their experiences were to be provided to each question. They were to take turns. The dynamics between the participants, including the allocation of power, was completely different than it was in the interview between Hitoshi and Ali Reza (where Ali Reza was in the more powerful position and Hitoshi continued in his role as non-participant).

Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interactional work also helped them to negotiate meaning with each other. They were highly involved in each others' utterances, which provided Hitoshi with his first experience of seeing himself as a legitimate speaker of English in the classroom culture. Lines 33 through 50 consist of Hitoshi's description of his Japanese experience in response to the question that he had asked Myung Mi. Myung Mi demonstrated her listenership, interest, and involvement in Hitoshi's response in line 35 as she overlapped, "yeah," in line 40, "yes," and in line 44 she and Hitoshi both laughed together. It is not clear whether this involvement contributed to their understanding of each other, but it seemed to help sustain the interaction.

In line 46 Hitoshi made the statement, "sometime he said opposite," which as we will see, required considerable interactional work for Myung Mi to understand. In line 47, Myung Mi uttered, "opposite?" Her repetition of Hitoshi's utterance with rising intonation functioned as a request. Hitoshi, in line 48, repeated what she had questioned, "opposite" with falling intonation. Perhaps he interpreted her question as a request to repeat the word because she had not understood the word "opposite". In line 49, Myung Mi again questioned, "yeah?" At this point in their interaction the source of Myung Mi's misunderstanding was not yet obvious to Hitoshi. He simply repeated, "yeah" and paused. With this utterance he signaled the end of his turn.

The next excerpt comes later in Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interview. It illustrates the amount of interactional work that Hitoshi and Myung Mi did to jointly create meaning so that Myung Mi could understand Hitoshi's utterance, "he said opposite." In line 98 Hitoshi said with falling intonation, "my my experience" after Myung Mi answered one of his questions. His use of falling intonation rather than the rising intonation he used earlier, "my my experience?" (excerpt 3, line 30) suggests that he was comfortable with the format they had negotiated. Hitoshi responded with his experience in lines 98 through 172. This turn was significantly longer than any of his turns in the interview with Ali Reza. I attribute the difference to Hitoshi and Myung Mi's conversational involvement. The boldface highlights Myung Mi's supportive and involved role: in line 101, "ooooh," in line 103, "very good," line 105, "uhhum," line 108, "kay."

Excerpt 4: Hitoshi/ Hyung Mi interview (Later)

```
 98 --> HIT: my.. my experience
 99          if I I want to..I want to buy motorcycle or something?
100          uh  he he say [ok..how many do do you need motorcycle
101     MYU:               [oooooh
102     HIT: (LAUGH).. how many?.[100?
103     MYU:                     [very good
104     HIT:                               [200?
105     MYU:                               [uhhum..
106     HIT: when he he he said
107          uh I couldn't say anymore [(LAUGH)
108     MYU:                           [ kay
109     HIT: uh everytime   everytime?
110     MYU: yeah everytime?
111     HIT: I I said something I want to buy
112          I  I want to do something
113 -->      He  he said opp  opposite
114 --> MYU: opposite?
115 --> HIT: opposite
116     MYU: okay?  (little laugh)
117     HIT: (laugh)  and I cou[ldn't
118     MYU:                   [you couldn['t?
119     HIT:                              [couldn['t
120     MYU:                                     [yeah
121     HIT: whe when I  I was high school student uh

122          I  I star[t smoking
123     MYU:          [uh huh..so you:ng
124     HIT: but he he said..it's ok
125     MYU: really?
126     HIT: ok
127 --> MYU: I don't understand
128     HIT: it's ok but .. if you you want to[do...this way
129     MYU:                                  [uhhum
130     HIT: you have to uh..you have to um
131 -->      what say um..I don't know (sigh)
132 --> MYU: What's mean
133 -->      you must  must
134 -->      you have to
135 -->      you must
136     HIT: yeah    yeah
137          if uh for[for example
138     MYU:          [yeah?
139     HIT: if I I dr[ive
140     MYU:          [yeah?
141     HIT:              a[car
142     MYU:               [uhhum?
143     HIT: and uh I  I...
144 --> MYU:                 broken?
145     HIT: yeah brok[en
146     MYU:          [yeah?
147     HIT: other car
148     MYU: another car
149     HIT: another car
150          I have to pay
151     MYU: yeah
152     HIT: for other uh
153          I have to[pay other person
154     MYU:          [uhhum ok?
155     HIT: by myself
156     MYU: yes of course
157     HIT: same thing
158 --> MYU: yes   if you uh
159 -->      oooooooh
160 --> HIT: uhhu[m
161 --> MYU:     [oooooh
162 -->      okaaaaaay
163 -->      I  I understaaaaand
164 -->      I understand
165 --> HIT: thank you (sigh)
166 --> (BOTH LAUGH)
167 -->      and when he said to me
168 -->      you have to   what call
169 --> MYU: you have to yourself? uh yourself
170 --> HIT: yeah   yeah
171     MYU:[yes  I  I understand  (LAUGH)
172     HIT:[yeah yeah
```

A-HIT

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

In lines 111 to 113, Hitoshi repeated the point of his story with his utterance "he said opposite,"

> I I said something I want to buy
> I I want to do something
> He he said opp opposite

Again, in line 114, Myung Mi questioned, "opposite?" With lines 121 through 126, Hitoshi provided another example to illustrate what "he said opposite" meant. Hitoshi, in line 126, "ok," indicated that he had finished explaining. As we have seen, up to this point Myung Mi had been very involved in Hitoshi's talk. In line 127, she stated explicitly, "I don't understand." Given my interpretation that Hitoshi had perceived himself as unable to speak English with Ali Reza, Myung Mi's utterance was potentially very face threatening. But Hitoshi's response in the form of another example suggests that he did not interpret her utterance as anything but a request for further explanation. I believe that Hitoshi was willing to continue to try to make Myung Mi understand him because they had been so involved in each other's talk.

However, in line 131, Hitoshi said, "what say um.. I don't know (sigh)." At this point it looked like Hitoshi was frustrated by his inability to explain himself to Myung Mi and that he might give up. Myung Mi quickly jumped in, in lines 132-135, again taking on the role of a more capable peer and helping Hitoshi explain himself. Her rephrasing of Hitoshi's utterance in line 133 "you must must," did not provide new information for Hitoshi to build on, but she gave him some time to think and she demonstrated her interest in negotiating the meaning with him. By line 136, Hitoshi was ready to try another example. Myung Mi's contributions in lines 138, "yeah?" 140 "yeah?" 142, "uhhum?" showed support, and her rising intonation functioned as a request for Hitoshi to continue. In line 143, Hitoshi paused, "and uh I I..." Demonstrating her role in their joint construction of meaning, Myung Mi offered in line 144, "broken?" Hitoshi ratified her contribution and continued to build.

In line 158, "yes if you uh," Myung Mi was apparently still trying to put together the examples that Hitoshi provided to illustrate what he meant by, "he said opposite." Then her intonation changed drastically as she enthusiastically uttered in lines 161 through 164,

> oooooh
> okaaaaaay
> I I understand
> I understand

Hitoshi responded in line 165, "thank you," and sighed. Hitoshi continued to try to restate what he was saying,

> and when he said to me
> you have to what call

Myung Mi responded in line 168,

> you have to yourself?
> uh yourself

Myung Mi as the more capable peer helped Hitoshi tell her the point of his story, which Hitoshi ratified in line 170, "yeah yeah." It is not clear from the transcript exactly what Hitoshi had intended or exactly what Myung Mi had understood; however, they were clearly satisfied that they understood each other and from their perspective, they had successfully negotiated the meaning of Hitoshi's story. From there, they continued with the interview.

To summarize the dynamics of Hitoshi and Myung Mi's interview: Myung Mi's interactional work forced Hitoshi to take on the role of an equal participant. They each asked their questions and each provided their experience to both of their questions. They jointly constructed meaning and worked very hard to understand each other through the discourse strategies that each had adopted. Myung Mi's discourse strategies included allocating turns equally and defining appropriate responses, repeating, back channelling to show support, lengthening her pauses, contributing words or examples for Hitoshi to build on. Hitoshi's strategies included continuing to provide concrete examples of the abstract idea he was trying to convey and repeating the same point, "he said opposite" to clearly link the examples. In this way, Myung Mi could put the images together and come up with a unifying explanatory idea.

From that day on, I observed a significant change in the participant role Hitoshi assumed. Through his interaction with Myung Mi, Hitoshi had the opportunity to see himself as a legitimate speaker of English rather than as a non-participant whom no one else could understand. I believe that this interactional experience enabled Hitoshi to continue to be a legitimate speaker of English in the classroom culture. He and Myung Mi started talking on a regular basis, both in class and outside at lunch. This was the first time that I observed Hitoshi interacting with non-Japanese students on his own at school. I changed the groupings as the session continued because I like my students to know all of their classmates in small groups. Tapes of Hitoshi in other pairs illustrated his active participation–including a significant increase in quantity of talk.

The last day of class we were discussing cross-cultural differences in dating as a large group. Hitoshi made a voluntary contribution which started an argument among the Japanese students, who then monopolized the floor for the first time during the semester. Hitoshi had become a legitimate participant in the classroom culture.

Conclusion

My goal with this paper was to demonstrate a way that language teachers can use discourse analysis to investigate the dynamics within the small groups they organize and to understand how the interaction defines the students' participant roles relative to one another. This is important, given that unequal participant roles can limit one student's opportunities to negotiate meaning. Since negotiation of meaning is believed to be necessary for second language acquisition, one goal of a conversation class is often to maximize such opportunities. When the teacher identifies interaction that limits any of the students' opportunities to participate, the teacher can intervene. In addition, when strategies that some students are using to successfully negotiate meaning are identified, the teacher can help all of the students develop such strategies by making them explicit.[1]

---

[1] A version of this paper was presented on the panel "Discourse Analysis in the ESL classroom" at TESOL 1992 in Vancouver, BC, March 7, 1992.

References

Austin, J. L. (1975). *How to do things with words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Edelsky, C. (1981). Who's got the floor? *Language in Society*, 10:383-421.

Fishman, P. (1978). Interaction: The work women do. *Social Problems*, 25:397-406.

Freeman, R. (forthcoming). Language planning and identity planning for social change: Gaining the ability and the right to participate. Doctoral dissertation: Georgetown University.

Goffman, E. (1981). *Forms of talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Gumperz, J. & Hymes, D. (Eds.). (1972). *Directions in sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Long, M. H. (1983). Linguistic and conversational adjustments to non-native speakers. *SSLA 5*(2):177-193.

Olsen R. & Kagan, S. (1992). About cooperative learning. In C. Kessler (Ed.), *Cooperative language learning: A teacher's resource book*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall Regents.

Philips, S. U. (1983). *The invisible culture: Communication in the classroom and community on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation*. New York: Longman.

Pica, T. & Doughty, C. (1988). Effects of task and participation patterns on classroom interaction. In J. Fine (Ed.). *Second language discourse: A textbook of current research*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A. & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language*, 50:696-735.

Schegloff, E. (1982). Discourse as an interactional achievement: Some uses of 'uhuh' and other things that come between sentences. Analyzing discourse: Text and talk. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics 1981* (pp. 71-93). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Schegloff, E. (1988). Discourse as an interactional achievement II: An exercise in conversation analysis. In D. Tannen (Ed.), *Linguistics in Context: Connecting observation and understanding* (pp. 135-58). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1985). Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In R. Olson, N. Torrance & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing* (pp. 124-147). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tannen, D. (1986). *Conversational style: Analyzing talk among friends*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Tannen, D. (1989). *Talking voices: Repetition, dialogue, and imagery in conversational discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wertsch, J. V. (1985). *Vygotsky and the social formation of mind*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Zanger, V. V. (1985). *Face to face: The cross-cultural workbook*. Cambridge: Newbury House Publishers.

The trap of generalization:
A case of encountering a new culture

Masakazu Iino
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

The relationship between *individual* and *institution* is constructed in people's perceptions about other cultures and it is manifested in conversation. In this study, interactions between Americans and Japanese (using video footage and narratives) are investigated as examples of possible problems with generalizations and cultural misunderstanding across situations and cultures. The danger of generalizations about cultures is critically discussed. This leads to questioning about conventional sociolinguistic concepts such as *speech community*, *rules of speaking*, and *appropriateness*.

Introduction

Intercultural communication between Americans and Japanese has not necessarily been smooth in the past. Recent Japan bashing from the American side and a mood of *Kenbei* (American-hating) from the Japanese side represent this deep-rooted issue which has been propagated by various economic problems and critical remarks from the media and politicians. The danger of misunderstanding seems to me to come from ignorance and misleading generalizations.

In this paper, I will examine how the relationship between *individual* and *institution* is constructed in people's perceptions about other cultures and how it is manifested in conversation. Cases will be investigated as examples of possible problems with generalizations and misunderstandings of situations and other cultures. The danger of generalizing about a culture will be critically discussed. This leads to questioning what a "speech community" (e.g., Gumperz, 1972) is, who sets "rules of speaking" (Hymes, 1972b), and who defines "appropriateness" in a given situation.

International/cultural issues are unavoidable in our daily lives; they affect each of us, often in very direct ways. The expansion of international trade, the interdependency of the global community, and the rapid communication between peoples of different nations force more individuals to interact with unfamiliar cultures in a way that generations a few decade ago could never have foreseen.

Despite the fact that Japan has become one of the most important economic forces in the world today, there are still, surprisingly, few opportunities in the United States to learn in depth about Japan and the Japanese people. In the past, only scholars of Japanology undertook this study. Today, not only Japanologists but also business executives, engineers, trade representatives, athletes, and artists are participating in this intermingling of cultures. While these cultural exchanges have increased in number, the question of how the communication is being realized still remains. Although "research in many disciplines has emerged which aims at facilitating and improving communication and understanding" (Miller, 1991:111), virtually no micro empirical study has been conducted to investigate what is happening in actual situations.

As a researcher who is a native speaker of Japanese and has been exposed to both American and Japanese cultures, I hope to shed new light on this kind of cross-linguistical/cultural analysis. This study hopes to help both Americans and Japanese who find themselves participating in cross-cultural encounters, especially those who feel frustrated by traditional stereotypes imposed by past Japanologists.

Procedure

Analysis in this paper is based on videotaped and audiotaped data collected in Philadelphia in 1992. A dinner table scene of a Japanese family and two guests was videotaped. The family is composed of the daughter, who has been studying at an American university for almost two years, and her mother, who had come to the U.S. two months before to visit her daughter. The two guests were myself, a Japanese male who has been living and studying in the U.S. for almost three years (referred as "Japanese Guest," or JG, in this paper), and an American student of Japanese ("American Guest," or AG) who went to Japan for one year as an exchange student and is fluent in Japanese.[1] The entire dinner table conversation took place in Japanese.

A microanalysis of the videotape was done for a 5 minute and 30 second segment, which was chosen out of the 1 hour and 40 minute dinner table conversation (Appendix). During the entire dinner table conversation, I noticed three uncomfortable moments based on my own judgment: (1) when there were racially discriminatory remarks; (2) during a Nagasaki bomb story; and, (3) during a story of American air-raid, all of which were invoked by the mother's narratives. For the microanalysis, I chose the first topic, which occurred 20 minutes into the conversation, because it is a serious issue that people are facing in contemporary societies. The transcript I will use in this paper is rewritten for the convenience of the readers. The analysis is based on the original microtranscript which includes verbal and non-verbal actions on a scroll with four partitions per second (cf., Erickson, 1982).[2]

Follow-up review sessions of the video tape were conducted with AG, the mother, the daughter, four Japanese graduate students, and four American graduate students (two of whom understood Japanese). The 20 to 30 minute footage which contained the part for microanalysis was shown to each reviewer separately; reviewers' responses to the conversation were collected.

Subsequently, two interviews were conducted by me in my office: one with the American Guest, the other with another college student (referred as "the College Student," or CS) who spent six weeks in Japan in the summer of 1992. The only explanation I gave before the interviews was that I was interested in hearing about the interviewees' experiences in Japan for my intercultural communication research. The major question I asked them was about how their experiences in Japan affected their perceptions of Japan. Since they had been students of mine for more than a year, it seemed to me that the conversation took place in an informal and relaxing atmosphere despite the presence of the tape recorder. Transcribed narratives from the interviews were analyzed with particular attention to the personal pronouns used in the conversation. Investigating these pronouns seemed to be a way to articulate the speaker's identification with the world.

Microethnography as a Method

The fundamental strength of a picture, especially a video-recorded motion picture, lies in the iconicity of an event from which people can reconstruct their own reality employing information which mere words tend to leave out. Microethnographic analysis' use of video recordings has a potential to influence the discovery and display what is otherwise concealed in the unconscious—"to make the familiar strange" (Erickson, 1986:83). On the other hand, the information that is available on the screen can not portray the larger social context in which the event takes place. In this regard, microethnography is "not an alternative to more general ethnography but a complement to it" (Erickson, 1992:1). Disciplined subjectivity is called upon because the entire process of analysis, including the initial decisions of what to record and how to record and later transcription decisions,[3] can not be entirely neutral in that they depend on the researcher's knowledge (inventory of lenses) and perception (choice of particular lens). In other words, the linguistic and sociocultural knowledge/assumptions that an analyst can bring into the context delimit the possible meanings of the scene.

Research at the Dinner Table

Research at the dinner table has been conducted by Erickson for many years,[4] the focus of which is mainly on "the interactional organization of discourse coherence strategies in a family conversation at the dinner table" (Erickson, 1990:207). The basic research question of this kind of study is "...what is the content of each individual's practical knowledge of how to interact and how does that knowledge get realized in the patterned performance of face-to-face interaction?" (Shultz, Florio & Erickson, 1982:89).

Through my analyses of the dinner table conversation, many issues came to my attention such as contextualization[5] and communicative competence. Among them, I would like to focus on face-to-face communication and its dynamics.

Criticizing Saussurian linguistics as scientific fiction (abstract objectivism[6]), Bakhtin explained actual speech communication in the following way:

> The fact is that when the listener perceives and understands the meaning (the language meaning) of speech, he simultaneously takes an active, responsive attitude toward it. He either agrees or disagrees with it (completely or partially), augments it, applies it, prepares for its execution, and so on" (1976:68).

He was quite correct in mentioning the interactive aspect of speech communication rather than the unilaterally conveyed process (cf., Gumperz, 1982:160). Throughout the conversation taking place at the dinner table, speakers and listeners negotiate each other's intention and imagined "what the speaker wishes to say" (Bakhtin, 1976:77). In this sense, the dinner table became a negotiation table. Rosaldo's critique of Searle's categories was useful in analyzing the interaction:

> Searle's categories are versatile enough to be applied to other people's acts of speech. But at the same time, they can be criticized for undue emphasis upon the speaker's psychological state, and corresponding inattention to the social sphere....[C]ertain of our culturally shaped ideas about how human beings act have limited our grasp of speech behavior (1982:227-228).

Instead of considering Austin or Searle's speech act theories as universal law,[7] it seems necessary to view them as "culturally particular modes of speaking"[8] (Rosaldo, 1982:228) to explain effectively what caused the uncomfortable moment (Erickson, 1982) in the data.

Analysis

The five minutes and thirty seconds which contained the first topic was analyzed in detail (Appendix). It consists of four principle parts: the leading part (about the host's apartment); the main story part (the mother's impression of Americans); the repairing part (shift of topic to Tokyo); and the ending part (return to earlier topic). The major shifts of footing occurred at 2:20 (the mother's address to the American Guest), at 3:50 (modification of topic), and at 4:18 (complete ending of the uncomfortable topic and back to the food topic). These shifts were marked not only by verbal information (content, speed, pause, volume, choice of lexicon), but also by non-verbal cues such as change in posture, eye contact, movement of utensils, and so forth. Analysis of the turn-taking frequency of the primary speaker and the primary listener illuminate the participant structure.

Topics of Conversation

Since I had met the family only a few times before that occasion and the American Guest (AG) was new to them, the topic choice of the entire conversation can be characterized as a process to find comembership cues. Since the family and AG had never met before, their commonly experienced topic tend to be the "here and now"—the activity of consuming food. The topic seems to go back and forth around food (Figure 1).

Figure 1: Frequency of Topic Change During 1 hr. 40 minute recording

food
residence
cat
greeting
food
language (Japanese)
food
language (Nagasaki dialect)
food
residence of guests
experience in the U.S. of the mother
food
Nagasaki (festival)
leg
cat
Nagasaki (home-stay experience)
Nagasaki war story
food
leg
food
Nagasaki (history
Kyuushuu (war story)
food
residence (furniture)
food
parking meter
weather
residence
food
hobby
personal history of the guests
food
leg
food

Food seems to be a safe and neutral topic for dinner table conversation because: 1) eating constitutes an immediate shared comembership as a participant in the eating activity; 2) eating itself is a universal human behavior (i.e., biological consumption of food, culturally different aspects of food and manner are not meant here); and, 3) the participants' evaluation of taste do not have to be expressed honestly in this situation. People rarely step on each other's toes and risk losing face in talking about food, unless the occasion is a cooking contest. Another immediate topic was the house and the neighborhood in which they were spatially located at that moment.

They did, however, find a common "then and there" (e.g., a space that they had shared before at a different time)—Nagasaki. AG had lived in Nagasaki for a year and the family had come from that island. In this regard, Nagasaki was one of the constituents of their comembership, although "Nagasaki" had a different context for each of them, i.e. the memory of war for the mother and the memory of an exchange student for AG.

A commonly shared experience in terms of space and time outside the dinner table was that they both had lived in each others' countries. Therefore, the U.S. and Japan—those institutions and people—became a subject of the conversation. This led to a noticeably uncomfortable moment. In order to build more comembership, the mother sent cues which extended outside the immediate (here and now) comembership. This probing often contains the risk of violating a standard of appropriateness if the addressee does not have that comembership (e.g., has a different perspective).

Details of the two minutes and 20 seconds of this uncomfortable moment were examined focusing on the shift of footing, and the coordination of verbal and non-verbal information.

Transcript 1: Conversation at the Dinner Table

D: *xxx san shitteirudesho*
(you know Mr. xxx)

JG: *a a italia kei no namae desu yo ne*
(ah, ah...that name sounds Italian)

D: *sousu philadelphia shusshin nanndesutte*
(he came from South Philadelphia)

M: *hitoniyottewane koekakeruhitowa koekakerunn desukedo nannteiunokashira*
watashitachi yappari gaikoku jin nanndana tte kanjirutokiga arunone nanntonaku
sogaikann wo kanjitene
(yeah, some people said hello to me, but...what should I say...we are foreigners after
all, I feel that way sometimes...I felt isolated)

M: *nihonni irashi te doudeshitaka nihonno hitowa gaikokunohitoni yasashiidesho*
(how did you feel when you were in Japan? Japanese people are kind to foreign
people, aren't they?)

AG.: *soudesune*
(they are kind)

M: *desho watashimo souomounone...watashitachiga americani kite tsuraikotoga takusan*
attanone...tokidoki nihonno hitoga gaikokujinni taishite motsu kimochiwo kanngaeruto
kanngaerarenai kotonanonesee
(I think so...since we came to the U.S., well, I have experienced many difficulties,
sometimes...when I think of the feelings Japanese people have toward foreign people,
I just cannot believe (what's happening here))

AG.: (nodding)

M: *dakara watashitachiwo oriental to shite asian to shite nihonjin to shitejanakute*
miteirunone...kekkyoku watashitachi...america no hitowa kannyoude sugoku
shinnsetsunishitekureta koto wa kannsha shiteirukedo...saikin japan basshing nante
kotogaaruto sonokotodakega omoteno kaoni natte shimmate
(so, they look at us as Orientals and Asians, not as Japanese, I suppose...but, after all,
we feel we are obliged to Americans because Americans have been generous, and
have treated us so well...so, when people hear "Japan bashing", only that
phenomenon becomes the superficial image)

39 JG: *toukyou demo asia karano gaikokujinnga no hitoga fuetemasuyone tokuni arabukei no*
40 *hitoga fuete*
41 (even in Tokyo, the number of foreign people such as Asians and Arabs is becoming
42 larger recently)
43
44 D: *itsuka toukyou niwa nihonjinga inakunacchaunja naikashira*
45 (someday there will end up being no more Japanese in Tokyo)
46
47 M: *sone*
48 (yeah)
49
50 D: *souiu hitotachi nohouga yoku hatarakudesho*
51 (those people work harder (than Japanese))
52
53 JG: *chikatetsuno koujinannkamo kareraga inaito dekinairashiidesune*
54 (I heard that no subway construction can be done without help of those (foreign)
55 people)
56
57 D: *okaasan karaage totte kudasaranai*
58 (Mom, can you get some fried chicken for me?)

Major Shift

A major shift of footing (Goffman, 1979) was marked by the mother's focusing her address on AG and, in doing so, putting him in the spotlight. Since the subject of a sentence is usually omitted in Japanese, the listener has to judge from the context whom the speaker is addressing. In this sense, Japanese can be said to be a highly context bound language. In this data, several contextualization cues such as the mother's direct gaze to AG, a postural shift forward to AG, a louder voice, and a slower pace were observed. Notably, the last two cues, which are often found in native/non-native interactions, indicated the mother's assumption that she should speak Japanese that a non-native speaker (AG) would understand. In this way, verbal and non-verbal cues cooperate. From this moment (lines 14-16), the mother, as the primary speaker, dominated the floor without major turn-taking until another shift.

The second major shift was marked by JG's repairing comment (lines 39-42) which broke the domination of the mother's narrative and which invited the daughter's speech as a result (lines 44-45). The daughter's low tone of voice seemed to indicate the uneasiness of the situation.

The third shift was initiated by a complete topic shift when the daughter asked the mother to get some fried chicken, accompanied by the cross-table activity of dish movement (lines 57-58).

Cooperative Management of Conversation

Saving face is said to be a highly valued interactional rule in Japanese culture (cf., Christopher, 1982 cited in Wolfson, 1989:24). It may be possible to say that the major activity at the dinner table where guests are present is to maintain and improve a peaceful, "feeling good" environment, avoiding any direct conflicts and loss of face. This is more important than the act of consuming the food itself. In this data, each listener cooperated to accomplish this goal. For example, AG raised his head and looked at the mother when she began to address him (lines 14-16). He sent several back-channeling utterances and nodded to confirm that he was listening and agreeing with what she was saying (line 28). I found JG exhibiting almost the same listening behavior in order to avoid direct confrontation in that situation, even though he did not agree with what the speaker was saying.[9] When we think of this kind of conversational strategy, the meaning of maxim of quality (Grice, 1975) can be seen to depend highly on the culturally bound situation. Sensing that the mother was addressing AG, the daughter and JG refrained from intervening in the speech until the mother sent cues that she was ending her speech, i.e., less confident speech marked by nervous hand movements, shifting eye contact to JG, and pausing (lines 36-37). Eating activities were interestingly coordinated with speech activities.[10] For example, the listeners waited for the beginning or end of a sentence or syllable to move chopsticks or dishes.

Participant Structure

In the data, the mother took the floor most of the time as the primary speaker. The mother was the oldest in the group and the host of the dinner. JG had met the host only a few times before the scene and therefore the social distance was relatively large. In this case, the difference in age between the mother and the rest of the members might have been the key factor in determining her social role in this micro organization. Also, as a native speaker of the language used in the speech event, the mother might have assumed that her position would not be challenged by the other participants. Therefore, it may be that she had power, especially in relation to AG who was the youngest and a non-native speaker of the language. In addition, because AG was a student of JG, AG was framed in a lower power relationship in this organization. These factors might explain his strategy of silence.

Cultural Aspects of Conversation at the Dinner Table

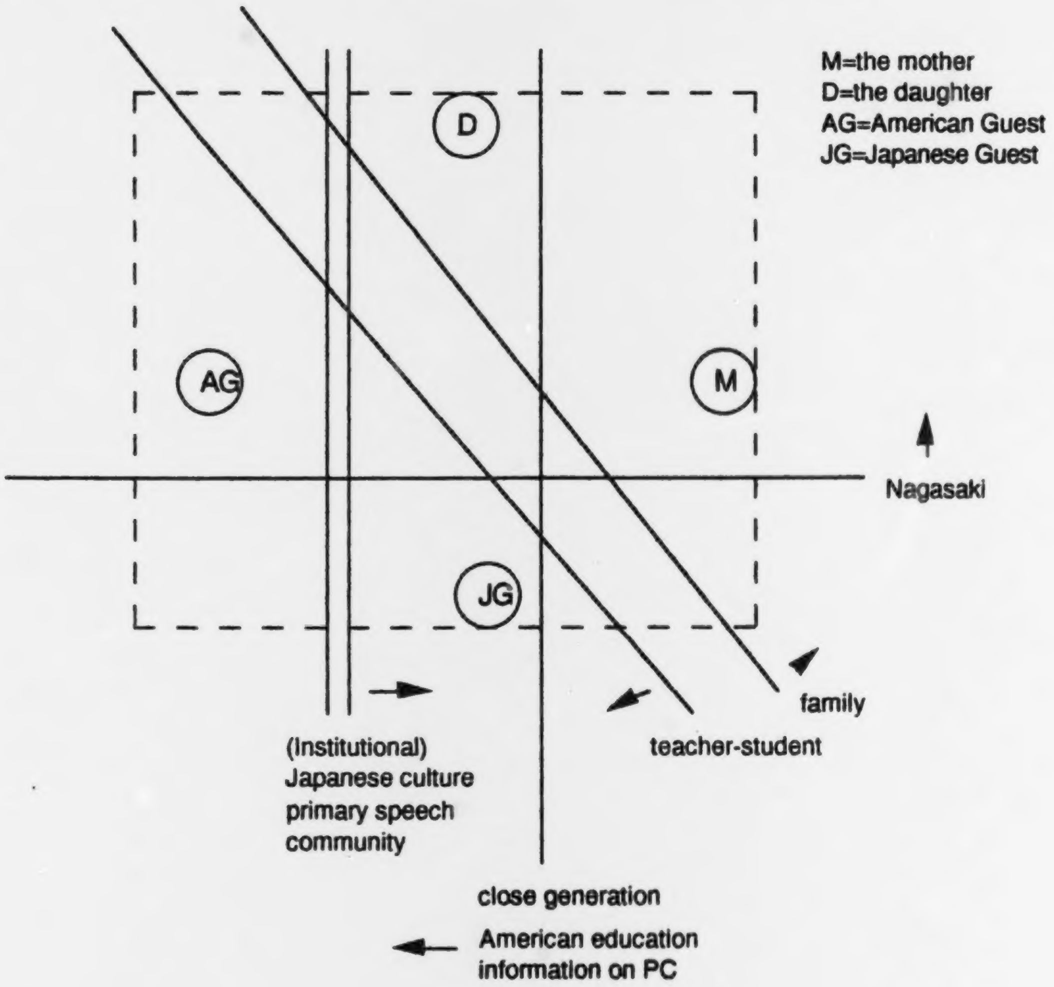
After showing the video to four American graduate students, a certain behavior which they claimed as a distinctive feature of two cultures, the act of lifting bowls when eating, was identified. Interviews with those Americans revealed that in American culture this act is considered inappropriate. On the other hand, in Japanese culture this act is not seen as a violation of rules, but as proper etiquette. I and four Japanese graduate students had not realized this behavioral difference until it was pointed out by the Americans. In other words, this performance cue was not emically salient and meaningful to me as a native Japanese, but was very meaningful to non-Japanese people.

On the other hand, the four Americans found many features of behaviors which led to a common interpretation of the scene despite the fact that two of them did not understand the language. For example, the mother's hand movements in the air and to her glasses were indexed as nervous and unsure of her opinion, shifting eye contact was seen as seeking support from the listener, a smile as showing understanding, keeping silent as an indication of not understanding or disagreeing with the speaker. In this regard, language is playing only a partial role in transmitting the information available in face-to-face interaction. It is necessary to look into the simultaneous organization of behavior as well as the surrounding larger context in order to understand more about the deep structure of this small "table society."

Comembership Dynamics

Lastly, I would like to discuss the perceptional dynamics of comembership during the conversation. Even this small social organization consists of many semantic categories of comembership or culture (Figure 2). These are by no means static. They changed from moment to moment according to each person's perceptions as a result of information gathered through all his/her sensory systems. For example, when the mother started the topic with which I felt uncomfortable, I more strongly identified myself as a member of the group who believes that such a topic is inappropriate, rather than comembership with the mother as a member of the Japanese culture. Linguistically speaking, this uncomfortableness comes from her use of the first person plural "we" and "us" (lines 22, 31, and 32) in her narrative. I was not comfortable with being included in her "we."

Figure 2: Major Categories of Comembership



Interview 1

An interview was held with the American student (AG in the transcript) who appeared in the video scene. The following is an excerpt of the transcript from a 1 hour interview (AG = American Guest, I = interviewer). AG's generalized cultural views were underlined and the pronouns in these sentences were marked in bold.[11]

Transcript 2: Interview with AG

AG: like after six months, my Japanese got ok, I could speak pretty well, and if you could speak Japanese, Japanese people love you, you know, and they are ten times as nice to you, I mean, they were nice from the beginning, but they were like really impressed, and they are like they really help you if you try to speak Japanese, that helps, and it became natural, I didn't feel so special any more

I: you are a Caucasian and obviously look different from Japanese people...did that make you feel isolated? or you were stared at?

AG: oh, yes, people always stared at me, Nagasaki is kind of in the country, there aren't too many *gaijin* but I mean...little kids, old people always stared at you, especially if I walk around in school uniform, yeah black uniform and a bag, you know, (laugh) they always stared and wondered, I don't know what they were thinking, but like in the bus people didn't sit by me, you know, that stuff

I: hu ha, I know many American students who experienced that kind of thing, and some of them were very frustrated being treated like that...what did you think?

AG: it was annoying, I mean, I think too visible, I mean, I wondered why they couldn't get used to me, because I got used to them, I mean, I was totally used to them in their country and still after six months they didn't get used to me, they are never going to get used to me, you know, just like, even after a year, I was stared at on the street, they never changed, they are not used to

I: you changed your view toward yourself?

AG: I don't know...maybe I realized my inabilities, like, what I couldn't do....I don't know...tough to say...I didn't change too much...not much at all...ah...I have to think about it...I don't know...I've never thought about it

I: your experience changed your view towards Japan?

AG: yeah, before I went to Japan, I didn't know anything about Japan, I mean everything was new, and...and overall my opinion about Japan was very positive

I: became more positive?

AG: yeah, more positive

I: from a neutral point?

AG: yes, yes, definitely to the positive side...and now I think there're some turns me off about Japan

I: what kind of thing is that, for example?

AG: just over-working, over-studying, uh, no women's liberation

AG: what was your question?

I: change your view?

AG: oh, yeah…yes, they just became positive, Japan became a real place in the while, not...not a little tiny dot on map, a bunch of little black haired people walking around, working like crazy, because there were some people who did not work very hard, there were some people who didn't studied really hard, some people who weren't very smart, and they don't conform to the stereotypes, and you need to get to see those people, because there are lot of people like me there too, it's not quite as many

I: how about your view toward the United States?

AG: I wasn't really proud of America, in America too many people think it's the best, and they don't bother learning anything but their country, they don't know others, and that's really embarrassing to have that many people in your country who don't know anything about any other country, so I mean I wasn't that much of patriot before I went to Japan, so I didn't really…I didn't think about it…I was in Japan…and always liked to learn about Japan, much more about Japan

I: how does your experience affect your life in the U.S.?

AG: well, it always keeps me think how everything is relative, people say things are so bad here and I would say look at how bad in Japan, and people say look how good this is here and I can say look how good it is in Japan, you know

I: in a sense, you are not completely American any more

AG: yeah, right, I think so, somewhere between American, German, and Japanese (laugh)

I: I think you identify yourself as American…as a citizen, but how do you feel about your identity?

AG: I feel like a global citizen, but more into America, that's where my family are, all my friends live here, and my mother language, and…I feel most comfortable…definitely, I don't know if I stay here though, it's home

I: what was the most uncomfortable moment while you were in Japan?

AG: one of the most uncomfortable thing was…
ummm... not too bad
not really ..... well I felt a little uncomfortable since I lived in Nagasaki…I was going into *Genbaku Shiryoukan* (Atomic bomb museum)…with a little bit touchy, you know, I mean, just like walking around and looking at everything, you know…I mean, who I am and knowing who these people are, I mean nothing I could do about it personally but I didn't really feel like guilt or anything…but still felt something…I felt a little uncomfortable there…because you just wonder what the Japanese people around…if they were thinking like me and angry thought, something like that, you know…my country killed their parents and you know, but yeah…my host parents…two of my host parents…their parents were killed by the atomic bomb, I mean…and it didn't hurt our relationship really…at first they talked about it, you know, and I was a little bit tense to talk about it, and they didn't talk about it in depth..I mean they mentioned it…and I said it was *taihen* (sorry to hear that) that's about it…and they didn't hold against me while I was there…that's probably one thing I was like a little bit shaky about

I: so in that situation you felt you were an American?

AG: yeah…definitely

The next segment is the transcript made after I showed the video scene to AG.

117 I: how did you feel at that moment?

118 AG: I don't know...well I wondered why she brought up that topic...but I wanted to say
119 something but I didn't want to say it in Japanese...you know...so I didn't say anything

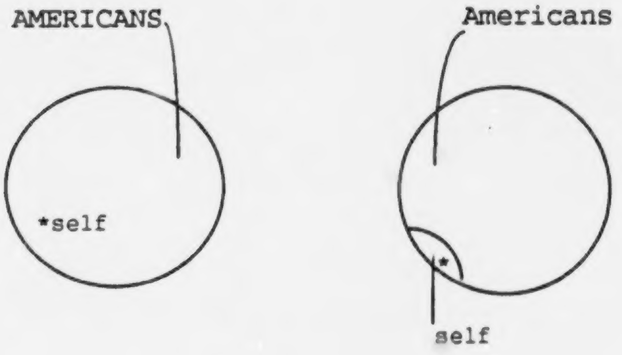
120 I: what did you want to say?

121 AG: well...maybe it doesn't happen only to Japanese...everyone feels similar things...it's
122 not because Japanese or America

123 I: I see

AG used third-person plural pronouns "they," "their," or "them" to refer to Japanese people in most cases (e.g., lines 2-4, 15-19, and lines 69-70). However, in line 44, he uses "they" and "their" to refer to American people. It seems that in the former case he identified himself as American as contrasted with Japanese. In the latter case he avoided identifying himself as American although still not identifying himself as Japanese. That is, in the former case AG positioned himself as AMERICAN (Figure 3). In the latter case he positioned himself as American.

Figure 3:
AMERICANS minus (myself & few exceptional people like myself)
= Americans



Later, in line 69, he used "my" to refer to AMERICA—resuming his identifying as American as opposed to Japanese. As we can see from this data, a person's identity to an institution is surprisingly dynamic in nature. Identity can never be static because a person tends to save ego by changing identity when that identity has a conflict of values with the ego.

He used "they" to exclude himself from other Americans because those behaviors of "not learning about other country" are the *achieved* attributes of individuals. In other words, learning about other countries depends on an individual's career choice and an individual's efforts.

On the other hand, the reason he *had to* use "my" in line 69 ("my country killed their parents") was that he did not choose to be an American. This can be called "Ascribed Indexicalization" which includes factors such as gender, race, and nationality. He could not alienate himself from being American and he could not save his ego. This inevitable indexicalization caused his "tenseness" (line 72) or uncomfortableness during that topic period. This student also mentioned the universalistic aspect of the human mind in lines 121-122 ("it's not because Japanese or American").

Another point in his narrative shows that stereotypes of others are also dynamic. In lines 36-41, "Japan became a real place in the world, not a little tiny dot on map" and "they don't conform to the stereotypes," his realization of the plurality within a culture transformed his old generalization. He came to see the Japanese people at a more individual level rather than as a monolithic institution.

I would like to call the generalization based on lack of knowledge (the lack of contact) "The Milky Way Phenomenon." The Milky Way can be seen as one cohesive entity if looked at from the earth. If you could go there, you would find that the stars are millions of light-years apart. Each individual is by no means identical even within a "culture" or a "speech community"; individuals, therefore, are multicultural in this regard.

Interview 2

The following narrative comes from the interview with another American college student (CS in the transcript). He talked about the experience he had in Japan.

Transcript 3: Interview with CS

I: did you feel any culture shock in Japan?

CS: I was shocked when I came into Narita (Tokyo's airport), and first I noticed blacks over there...they were seven...there were four girls...I think they might have been volleyball players...and that surprised me because I didn't think to see anyone...because in that sense I'm very very prejudiced about blacks for the most part,...but there were so many foreigners... just felt uuh...just like...I can't explain it...I guess I was disappointed to leave because I liked it so much...and it ties in basically with how I feel I changed...if I was an American Asian, American black maybe not so much if I was an American Hispanic, but I'm an American white...and I go to Japan and I'm just a white...and that' it...it doesn't...I don't know...I speak English...that puts me up here (hand above his head) compared to anyone else in the entire world...other Japanese...I'm American and I'm white...up here...if I was blond, way up here (stretching his hand)...so I was up there...and then also in fact in America how you look really really matters...it's the way how you look...for a long time...you know...I felt like I was nothing in this country you know... I'm a little overweight...and I'm not very handsome...I'm just a nice guy...I don't do sports...I don't stand out as it is...so...in Japan people come up to you...and people talk to you...it's easier to meet girls there...that was a very big bonus...uh...they like you...I mean first 'cause you can meet them because they want to meet you 'cause you are an American and it's easier because they don't look more inside than outside...I was more confident than Japanese guys...so when I came back I was much more confident...things don't bother me much...much more relaxed...I felt better about myself...I was back to the same people...and at first it was disappointing...I hated not being around Japanese people...I was so used to it. It was comfortable. I never got culture shock in either way

I: you didn't mind being looked at?

CS: it was really funny...lots of my friends hate it...but I like attention...when I walk down here, girls look through me...they just don't see me...but when I was there...well, it was good to know at least I could get attention...so it was an amusement

I: what do you think of the stereotypes about Japan?

CS: a lot of them are true in a sense...uh...when you make a stereotype about someone in America, you can't use it...because everyone in America is different...but in Japan most people are similar because you have to be...that's the way of the culture's stuff

The continuous use of "I" in his narrative suggests his strong identity as "I'm American and I'm white" in contrast to Japanese people and at the same time in contrast to other Americans who are not white. His explicit racial remark in line 5 ("I'm very prejudiced about blacks") and his strong denial of generalization toward "the" American culture in lines 29-31 ("everyone in America is different," using present tense without hedging) indicates his alienating attitude toward other races in the U.S. In this way, "prejudice" (in line 5), a product of generalization, can be detected from the surface structure of his speech.

His ignorance of pluralistic aspects of Japanese people (lines 30-31, "but in Japan, most people are similar") can be explained by his relatively low exposure to Japanese people. At this stage, he relied on generalizations about institutions and culture rather than on individual attributes. In this sense, he used the term "culture" (in line 31) with different and multiple implications as he talked about Japan and the United States.

Generalization is a process of constructing reality. This narrative shows the dangerous nature of generalization which often comes from the ego saving[12] (e.g., "attention" from others, line 27) automatic response, and naive ignorance.

Generalization

In the following section, I analyze the video footage, incorporating what we saw in the interview data and looking more closely at the dynamic nature of culture. Instead of the conventional notion of culture, I will focus on the concept of *comembership*.

Paradoxically, the uncomfortable moment can be detected only in contrast to comfortable moments.[13] The reason that *I felt* uncomfortable in the first videotaped data was that *I thought* the topic choice of the speaker was not appropriate in that situation. This is usually called a violation of sociolinguistic rules. But who sets the rules? The rules are bound by the norm of a "speech community," the members of which share a common knowledge on "what to say and whom to say it to" (Wolfson, 1989:17). Statements such as "that person doesn't know how to speak appropriately, because he/she is from another culture" illustrate that the rules of speaking are a component of culture. What is confusing is the fact that the notion of culture is often associated with nationality, race, gender, age, educational background, socioeconomic status, and so on. According to Goodenough, a culture is "what you have to know in order to operate as a member of the society" (1964:36-37). These classifications seem to be rather institutional and static,[14] because the nature of society is regarded as something that can be grouped for a certain duration. Despite the fact that "'cultural factors' is a vague and fuzzy concept" (Fisher, 1980:7), people use the term "culture" often without questioning what it means. Whenever we can not find a rational answer, we tend to blame "culture."

On the other hand, I found that the sense of comembership,[15] which is perceived by the individual participant, plays an important role in face-to-face interaction. That comembership is highly dynamic during the interaction with the same participants. For example in the data, the mother, the daughter, and JG shared "Japanese culture" including the language, and the topic of a person whom three of us had known in common as indices of comembership (recall Figure 3). But at another moment, AG, the daughter, and JG shared a certain rule of speaking which was perceived differently by the mother. In the latter speech event, the information on whether or not the racially discriminatory comment is appropriate in the U.S. constitutes the formation of comembership. If my American student (AG) had not been present in the audience, I might not have felt uncomfortable with the mother's topic. I felt uncomfortable because he is an American (in contrast to other participants) and because he is my student. I *thought* he would feel uncomfortable with the mother's topic. I did not want to see this happen to him, because it would damage a relationship which I value. I felt obliged to repair that situation. In this way, the perception of uncomfortableness derives from the relative social relationship and from the value of that relationship. These kinds of "small-scale political relations" (Erickson, 1982:212) tend to be neglected when people talk about culture, especially when the location is geographically and cognitively distant as we see the relationship between the U.S. and Japan. Earlier, I called this the "Milky Way Phenomenon." Each individual is by no means identical even within a culture or a speech community; each individual is multicultural in this regard with an aggregate of multilayered comembership. No two people share the same set of semantic categories of social identity. JG shared comembership with AG as influenced by American higher education on "politically correct" speech, as much as JG did with the mother as a citizen of Japan. In other words, JG wished to identify himself with *that* group on *that* issue at *that* moment. Comembership is not a static object shared among the participants but is interactively negotiated and dynamic throughout the discourse.

Thus, the monolithic generalization of a "culture" is not only misleading but also dangerous in some situations. In the data, the mother's statement on the American and Japanese attitudes toward foreigners is a good example of often-felt temptations for generalization. An individual is seen in the context of the institution to which he/she belongs; individual attributes and institutional attributes are mixed as a consequence. AG may not have an identity associated with the institution which treated the mother badly or dropped a bomb during the War. Yet he was indexed with the institution while the mother talked on those topics simply because of his membership in that institution based on other aspects. This can be called "Ascribed Indexicalization." A person can be accused of/praised for something that is not his own fault/accomplishment due to the nature of the institution with which he is indexed—even though where he may have no control over the reason of accusation (or praise).

The uncomfortable moment which I felt in the data was derived partially from the mother's strong tendency to generalize her personal opinion into a universal statement, the topic of which was inappropriate in my perception. However, it is also inappropriate for me to make a judgmental comment on the mother's speech[16] because my comment inevitably comes from my generalization of my rules of speaking. That rigid frame is what I criticize in this paper. My judgment comes from my standard. In this way, the most important thing to be considered is that interpretation of even a small-scale social interaction is delimited within each individual's construction of reality.

Implications

The human mind must have "a means of efficiently screening, sorting, coding and storing sensory data" (Fisher, 1988:23) because we have no time and energy to examine each particularistic feature every time.[17] We have to generalize a certain range of the color spectrum to recognize that the color is red in order to hit the brake pedal at a traffic signal. Also, we live within institutions with other people. For members of a group to "cooperate 'simplifies' the environment" (Fisher, 1988:23). Therefore, we have culture. More fundamentally, language (semantics) itself is a product of generalization—we can not argue each time if a red round fruit in a grocery store is really an apple with a shopkeeper. We can not escape from generalization.

The close examination of the differences in generalization depending on the level of speech is still an open question. Also, the relationship between communicative competence and disciplined generalization is yet to be discussed. However, as a tentative conclusion, we may be able to reduce the danger of generalization by conscious effort. Since generalization in a person's mind can be seen in "the surface linguistic form of the sentence of a narrative" (Tannen, 1979:179),[18] we can start by becoming sensitive[19] to our speech. First, we have to be careful about the use of generalized subjects (e.g., "the Japanese" or plural pronouns such as "we" or "they"). Secondly, we can use hedges in our speech (e.g., "I think," "it seems," "might," etc.); unfortunately, these are regarded as sociolinguistically powerless features in the U.S. If people, especially those who are in power (e.g., politicians, journalists, scholars, etc.) were a little more careful about generalized speech, I THINK that less conflict and fewer uncomfortable moments would occur.

---

[1] As part of an assistantship, I teach a Japanese Business course. "American Guest" is one of the students in my class.

[2] The distinction between verbal and non-verbal seems to vary depending on the researcher. In this paper, verbal information means "what you can retrieve with your eyes closed" (or from the audiotape recording, including silence or pose, excluding possible noises made by body movements or utensils), and non-verbal means "what you see with the volume completely shut off." Still, in this definition of non-verbal information, the direct information of smell, taste, and temperature are left out with today's video-recording technology.

[3] See E. Ochs (1979).

[4] Erickson pointed out six main kinds of local production resources for the local work of talking and eating as follows: (1) general cultural knowledge; (2) knowledge of phonology, lexicon, and grammar; (3) knowledge and skill in using utensils; (4) spatial positioning of participants; (5) patterns of family relationship [e.g., speaker-audience collaboration]; and, (6) temporal organization of speech and body motion in interaction (1991:5).

[5] See Gumperz (1982).

[6] Ethnographic analysis, on the other hand, can be called "concrete subjectivism."

[7] See Fairclough (1989:9).

[8] Keenan also pointed out a major problem of Grice's conversational maxims, saying "the implicature depends on how the utterance is expected to behave with respect to conversational maxims, and these may vary situationally and cross-culturally" (1976:68).

[9] Throughout the analysis I will use "JG" and "he" to refer to the participant in the interaction (myself) and "I" to refer to myself as the researcher.

[10] See Erickson (1991).

[11] See Cialdini for another case of distinguishing "we" and "they" in speech (1984:194-196).

[12] "The role of prejudice in protecting one's self-esteem" (Wurzel, 1988:15)

[13] Regarding this, Wolfson said: "...sociolinguistic researcher... is oblivious to their [rules of speech behavior] existence until they are broken. Thus, we are in the happy position of being able to learn from the mistakes of others" (1989:73).

[14] The notion here includes both universalistic (those which potentially could be achieved by any individual) and particularistic attributes (those which are determined by birth) which were defined by Erickson (1982:15).

[15] Erickson said, "comembership involves attributes of shared status that are particularistic rather than universalistic" (1982:35). However, I do not agree with this argument. Many times comembership derives from universalistic attributes such as alumni associations, especially in Japan. Due to the nature of Japan's homogeneous society, where the range of differences in

---

particularistic attributes is smaller than that in the U.S., the universalistic attributes (e.g., educational background and occupation) count more for formation of comembership.

[16] I later found out that the mother had trouble with her landlord which led her to make such a critical comment against Americans. With this additional contextual information, my judgment might change.

[17] Tannen put it in the following way: "...in order to function in the world, people cannot treat each new person, object, or event as unique and separate. The only way we can make sense of the world is to see the connection between things, and between present things and things we have experienced before or heard about. These vital connections are learned as we grow up and live in a given culture" (1979:137).

[18] Tannen was discussing structures of expectation in the sentence which is a form of generalization.

[19] In this regard, cultural sensitivity should include sensitivity toward generalization.

References

Bakhtin, N. M. (1976). The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson & M. Holguin (Eds.) *Speech genres and other essays*. Austin: University of Texas Press.

Christopher, R. C. (1982). *The Japanese mind: The Goliath explained*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Cialdini, R. (1984). *Influence*. New York: Quill.

Erickson, F. & Shultz, J. (1982). *The counselor as gatekeeper*. New York: Academic Press.

Erickson, F. & Linn, R. (1986). *Quantitative methods and qualitative methods*. New York: Macmillan.

Erickson, F. (1990). The social construction of discourse coherence in a family dinner table conversation. In B. Dorval (Ed.),.*Conversation organization and its development*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

Erickson, F. (1991). "They know all the lines": Rhythmic organization and contextualization in a conversational listening routine. In *KontRI*, Universitat Konstanz.

Erickson, F. (In press). Ethnographic microanalysis of interaction.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and power*. New York: Longman.

Fisher, G. (1988). *Mindsets*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Fisher, G. (1980). *International negotiation: A cross-cultural perspective*, Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Goffman, E. (1979). Footing. *Semiotica 25*, 1/2. The Hague, Netherlands: Mouton.

Goodenough, W.H. (1964). Cultural anthropology and linguistics. In D. Hymes (Ed.), *Language in culture and society*. New York: Harper & Row.

Grice, H. P. (1975). Logic and conversation. In P. Cole & J. Morgan (Eds.), *Speech acts (syntax and semantics)*. New York: Academic Press

Gumperz, J. (1972). The speech community. In P. Giglioli (Ed.), *Language and social context*. Baltimore: Penguin Books.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Harre, R. & Davies, B. (In press). Positioning: The discursive production of selves.

Hymes, D. (1972a). Introduction. In B. Cazden, V. John & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Functions of language in the classroom*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Hymes, D. (1972b). Models of the interactions of language and social life, In J. Gumperz & D. Hymes (Eds.), *Directions in sociolinguistics* (pp. 35-71). New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Keenan, E. & Schieffelin, B. (1976). Topic as a discourse notion. In C. Liz (Ed.), *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press.

Miller, L. (1991). Verbal listening behavior in conversations between Japanese and Americans. In J. Blommaert & J. Verschueren (Eds.), *The pragramatics of intercultural and international communication*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Ochs, E. (1979). Transcription as theory. In E. Ochs & B. B. Schieffelin (Eds.), *Developmental pragmatics*. New York: Academic Press.

Rosaldo, M (1982). The things we do with words: Ilongot speech acts and speech act theory in philosophy. *Language in Society*, 11:203-237.

Shultz, J., Florio, S. & Erickson, F. (1982). Where's the floor? Aspects of the cultural organization of social relationship in communication at home and in school. In Gilmore & Glatthorn (Eds.) *Children in and out of school*. Washington, DC: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Tannen, D. (1979). What's in a frame? Surface evidence for underlying expectations. In R. Freedle (Ed.), *New directions in discourse processing*, (pp. 137-181). Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives*. New York: Newbury House.

Wurzel, J. (1988). *Toward multiculturalism*. Yarmouth, ME: Intercultural Press.

Appendix

The Entire Dinner Table Conversation (duration = 1h 40m)

20 min 25 30min

Principle Parts	Leading: Story about the Host's Apartment		Starting: the mother's story about her impression of America					Repairing: shift of topic to Tokyo			Ending: back to food topic	
	0:09	1:01	2:01	2:30	2:40	3:03	3:16	3:40	3:49	4:08	4:18	4:40 5:29
Primary Discourse Topics	Ghost Story	Neighborhood of our common friend	M's feeling as foreigner	Japan's case	M's experience	Interpretation as Orientals, Asians	Japan bashing	Tokyo's situation	Future	Hardworking foreigners	Asking for Chicken	Asking if AG liked food
Primary Speaker	M D	M D	M	M	M	M	M	JG	D	D JG	D	M
Primary Listner	JG	JG	JG	AG	AG	AG JG	AG JG	M AG	M AG	M AG	M	AG
Major Shift				↑				↑			↑	
Verbal Activities	laughter frequent turn-taking		no laughter no turn-taking M's dominant floor	raising intonation, volume				lower volume longer pause slower pace			laughter	
Nonverbal Activities	smile frequent movement of chopsticks, body		less frequent movement	change in posture, eye contact address to AG							posture change	JG left the table
	(tension low)		(tension high)								(tension release)	

M=the mother
D=the daughter
JG=Japanese Guest
AG=American Guest

"Sticking points": Effects of instruction on NNS refusal strategies

Kendall A. King and Rita Elaine Silver
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

The refusal strategies of intermediate level second language learners and the potential for developing sociolinguistic competence through instruction is examined in this study. Six university student volunteers were divided into treatment and control groups. The treatment group received an instruction class focusing on sociolinguistic variables important in refusing in American English; the control group participated in a class on how to make conversation (small talk) with Americans.

Immediately prior to and one week following instruction participants completed a discourse questionnaire designed to elicit written refusals. Based loosely on the discourse completion test used by Beebe, Takahashi, and Uliss-Weltz (1990), the questionnaire contained situation descriptions designed to elicit refusals, each followed by an uncompleted dialogue. The questionnaire contained situations in which requests and invitations were made by interlocutors of varied status and social distance. Two weeks after instruction participants were telephoned by a researcher who requested that the participants perform a burdensome activity at a time known to conflict with their schedules.

Results from the questionnaire indicate little effect of instruction. Data from the telephone interview reveal no effect of instruction. Of interest are the patterns of responses found in certain questionnaire situations and the large disparity between the written and spoken refusal strategies. We believe these two findings hold important implications for teaching and future research.

Introduction

The development of sociolinguistic competence, as part of a larger communicative competence, has been widely discussed (e.g., Canale & Swain, 1980; Cook-Gumperz & Gumperz, 1982; Thomas, 1983). The potential importance of how speech acts are appropriately realized as part of sociolinguistic competence for non-native speakers (NNSs) has also been discussed in the literature (e.g., Schmidt & Richards, 1980; Blum-Kulka, 1982; Olshtain & Blum-Kulka, 1985). Teachers and materials developers have realized the importance of including information about speech acts and language use in classroom teaching. However, as Wolfson notes:

> Having accepted the necessity to include sociolinguistic information in language instruction, therefore, textbook writers and teachers turned to the literature in sociolinguistics for the information they needed to apply. Unfortunately, too little research into sociolinguistic rules had been done, leading to a situation in which the TESOL profession wanted and needed to apply information that did not yet exist (1989:48).

Several studies have been done which describe speech acts, their use, and differences/similarities cross-culturally. Apologies (e.g., Cohen & Olshtain, 1981; Olshtain & Cohen, 1983; Blum-Kulka, House & Kasper, 1989), requests (e.g., Blum-Kulka et al., 1989), compliments (e.g., Manes & Wolfson, 1981; Manes, 1983; Holmes, 1988), and refusals (e.g.,Takahashi & Beebe, 1987; Beebe, Takahashi & Uliss-Weltz, 1990) have all been studied sufficiently for us to begin to draw an empirical description for pedagogical purposes.

The problem of instruction remains: Is it possible to develop sociolinguistic competence through instruction? What type of instruction would be most beneficial? Do students benefit from instruction of specific speech acts?

Several studies have looked at the development of sociolinguistic competence with regard to SL/FL setting. Schmidt (1983) conducted a longitudinal study of one learner in both EFL and ESL settings. His study indicated that communicative demands in the ESL situation were important for continued development of sociolinguistic competence. However, it was a gradual process; after several years, the learner's performance was still far from native-like. Olshtain and Blum-Kulka (1985) found that length of stay in an SL environment influenced development of native-like speech behavior. This was further supported by their 1988 study. However, this information seems to be discouraging since they note, "we find that generally speaking, response patterns of nonnative speakers (over 10 years) become *similar* to native speakers' responses" (317, underline emphasis ours), and, "after 10 years, nonnative speakers tend to exhibit almost native like tolerance for positive politeness strategies while continuing to maintain their tolerance for conventional indirectness" (318, underline emphasis ours). Takahashi and Beebe (1987) found that learners in an ESL environment showed less negative transfer than learners in an EFL environment. In other words, learners in the ESL environment were less influenced by L_1 norms. So, it seems that length of stay in an second language environment is beneficial for acquiring sociolinguistic competence but insufficient and time-consuming.

A few studies related to classroom language instruction and the development of sociolinguistic competence have also been done. These studies have show that classroom SL/FL instruction is not sufficient for the development of sociolinguistic competence (Allen, Swain, Harley & Cummins, 1990; Ellis, 1991; Ellis, 1992). In other words, explicit teaching of appropriate speech act realizations and situational features seems to be necessary.

Two studies have looked at the potential for developing appropriate speech act use through instruction. Olshtain and Cohen (1988) considered the effect of instruction on NNS apologies. They looked at several features of the speech act realization and instruction: number and type of semantic formulas, average length of responses, use of intensifiers, a comparison of NS/NNS appropriacy judgements, and students' evaluations of teaching materials which explicitly teach speech act behavior. Pre and post test results (using a discourse questionnaire) indicated some effect of instruction in the type of semantic formula, average length of response, and use of intensifiers.

They concluded that "fine points of speech act behavior such as (1) types of intensification and downgrading, (2) subtle differences between strategy realizations, and (3) consideration of situational features, can and should be taught in the second and foreign language classrooms" (20). However, they did not believe, based on their findings, that overall proficiency (with its concomitant change in behavior) could be attained based on a short period of study.

In a study on the effect of instruction biased toward the explicit formalization of rules for complimenting behavior, Billmyer considered learner production of compliments and replies to compliments (1990:8). Using a natural data collection instrument (conversation partner exchanges), she was able to judge not only learner *intuitions*, as would be revealed by a discourse completion test (DCT) (see Wolfson, 1976; Beebe & Cummings, 1985), but also *production* in face-to-face encounters.

Billmyer found that while uninstructed and instructed learners were able to perform "in roughly equivalent ways on several measures of sociolinguistic appropriateness" (320) and had similarly high levels of linguistic well-formedness, instructed learners showed treatment effects in several ways. They used a greater number of compliments with more variety in the adjectival lexicon and their production of compliments seemed more spontaneous. Their responses to compliments were longer, more closely approximated native speaker norms, and were more similar to a native speaker response profile (318-19).

Another important finding of this study was that there appeared to be an interaction between instruction and proficiency, with higher level learners showing more effect of instruction than lower level learners. However, as Billmyer notes, "This finding is somewhat speculative due to the fact that only two variables (proficiency and instruction) were examined, and only two measures of performance reanalyzed" (319).

Refusals have been characterized as a "major cross-cultural sticking point for ESL students" (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987:133) which can lead to unintended offense and a breakdown in communication. They are also complex, requiring negotiation and different responses according to the eliciting speech act—invitation, request, offer, or suggestion (Beebe et al., 1990:56). Rubin's comment is to the point:

> One of the more important communicative tasks that confronts a traveler is the recognition of when a speaker has said "no." That is, one needs to be able to recognize that a respondent has refused or denied that which the speaker has demanded, solicited, or offered. Equally, one needs to acquire the appropriate manner in which to respond in the negative when offered, solicited, or demanded something (1983:10).

Thus, refusals merit the attention of teachers and learners.

Several studies have been conducted on refusal strategies (Beebe & Cummings, 1985; Takahashi & Beebe, 1987; Beebe et. al, 1990). They have identified several important characteristics of American English native speaker refusal strategies. As noted above, two important characteristics of refusals are their variability based on the eliciting speech and their complexity. Refusals are complex because they are made up of a set of strategies and have a certain canonical shape reflected in the order, frequency, and content of semantic formulas. Several of these studies described American English refusal strategies by making cross-cultural comparisons.

Study Design

A quasi-experimental design with a pre and a post test was used to investigate the effects of instruction on ESL learners' acquisition of refusal strategies. Of interest was whether instruction on NS ways of refusing and factors affecting refusals such as status and role relationship would result in differences on discourse questionnaires and in telephone interviews.

The study was limited to instruction of refusals to requests and invitations. Data from Beebe et al. (1990) allowed for the description of refusals to requests (Table 1) and invitations (Table 2). However, there was insufficient information in the literature on refusals to offers and suggestions to provide an adequate description. Additionally, it was thought that both the instructional component and the instrumentation would become too unwieldy if situations covering all four elicitation acts and various dimensions of social distance were included. Therefore, refusals to offers and suggestions were eliminated from the study.

Table 1: Shape of Refusals to Requests

Equal	Unequal
1. (adjunct)	1. adjunct of positive opinion
2. regret or apology	2. expression of regret ("I'm sorry" with lower status interlocutor)
3. excuse	3. excuse

( ) indicates optional

Table 2: Shape of Refusals to Invitations

Equal	Unequal
1. adjunct (not "Thank you")	1. adjunct
2. regret	2. regret
3. excuse	3. excuse
4. "Thank you"	4. 0

Olshtain and Cohen (1988) and Billmyer (1990) showed that there was some effect of instruction on learners' intuitions and productions of appropriate speech act behavior. Evidence from Beebe and Cummings (1985) indicated that refusals on discourse completion tests (DCTs) and in telephone interviews differ in important ways. These considerations motivated four general research questions:

1. Will refusals on pre and post test DQs show effect of instruction? In what ways?
2. Will production of refusals in telephone interviews show effect of instruction? In what ways?
3. How will refusals given on the DQs differ from those elicited in the telephone interviews?
4. In general, what refusal strategies will NNSs employ?

Research Methodology

The participants were six intermediate level NNSs studying at a university English language center in Philadelphia. Three were women and three were men.

They ranged in age from 19-27, and their length of stay in the U.S. ranged from one month to two years. Their native languages were: Japanese (4), Spanish (1), and Greek (1) (Appendix 1).

Students' schedules included three required courses: Spoken English, Written English, and an elective. The instructional component for this study was conducted in a classroom at the students' university from 3:15-4:45 PM, after regular classes were finished for the day.

Students were determined to be at "intermediate" level based on placement interviews conducted at the beginning of the term. In addition, the study was conducted after mid-term when there had been an opportunity to move students to other levels if the current level seemed inappropriate. This gave us some confidence that students were at a similar proficiency level relative to other groups of students studying at the language center.

Intermediate students were chosen for several reasons. Because this was the largest group of students attending the language center, the selection of intermediate students gave us the largest group to draw from. While some researchers have proposed that advanced learners benefit more from this type of instruction (Takahashi & Beebe, 1987; Billmyer, 1990), this does not preclude benefit of instruction for intermediate level students. In addition, based on discussions with students, we found that students at intermediate level have a strong desire to talk to Americans, and experience frustration in trying to do so. Students often seem to "get stuck" at intermediate level, remaining at this level longer than at a lower level (where they make rapid progress) or a higher level (where they begin to enter university courses). We believed that any instruction which might help them open the door to further interactions with Americans would be appreciated and helpful. Thus, the choice of intermediate level was based largely on practical and pedagogical reasons.

Participants were mixed to the extent possible so that neither the control group nor the treatment group was dominated by students from the same Spoken class. In addition, they were mixed according to native language/country and length of time in the U.S. We chose to make each group (treatment and control) as varied as possible, rather than focusing on one national/language group, to encourage as much participation as possible for the pilot study.

A questionnaire was distributed among the intermediate level classes to establish native language, native country, and length of time in the U.S. Information from the questionnaire was used to divide students into two groups: treatment and control. The students were invited to participate in a free conversation class having to do with "speaking to Americans." Both the topic and the class label "conversation" were intended to cater to student interests. Prior to this time, students had frequently talked about wanting more time "to just talk," wanting to have more opportunities to talk to Americans, and finding it difficult to start conversations with Americans. Students signed up for the conversation class in advance. Classroom teachers encouraged participation, but it was made clear that there was no connection between the "conversation class" and the regular spoken class (especially in terms of evaluations, etc.). Participation was voluntary on the part of the students.

A discourse questionnaire (DQ) was administered at the beginning of the conversation class as a pre test. Students understood that they were participating in a research project and that the DQ was part of that project. They were not told that the instructional component itself was also part of the project. The conversation class was presented as a kind of payment for participation in the research project.

Following administration of the DQ, the six participants were placed into treatment and control groups, and directed to the appropriate classroom. The control group took part in a conversation class focusing on getting to know Americans as friends and using small talk topics to begin conversations. The treatment group looked at how sociolinguistic variables affect conversation, focusing on refusals.

One full week after the treatment, a post test (the same DQ with items reordered) was administered during the students' regular Written English classes. Approximately two weeks after the post test, a follow-up telephone call was made to each student. The caller attempted to elicit refusals over the telephone by asking students to participate in a burdensome activity at a time which was known to conflict with their class schedule.

Responses to pre test, post test, and follow-up telephone call were analyzed for effect of instruction and to ascertain what refusal strategies students employed.

The DQ (Appendix 2) consisted of brief descriptions of various situations, each followed by an uncompleted dialogue. Participants were instructed to place themselves in the situation and respond as they would in actual conversation. Of the six situations designed to elicit refusals, three requests, and three invitations were made by interlocutors of equal, lower, and higher status (Table 3).

The DCT has been used widely in studies of cross-cultural variation of speech act realization (Beebe & Takahashi, 1987; Beebe et al., 1990; Blum-Kulka, 1982). The present study's instrument was based on the DCT used by Beebe et. al in their study of pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals (1990).

Table 3: Description of Discourse Questionnaire

Situation No.		Situation Type	Participant Status	Social Distance
Pre	Post			
6	7	request	higher	acquaintance
7	2		equal	stranger
1	9		lower	acquaintance
4	3	invitation	higher	acquaintance
2	6		equal	friend
9	4		lower	acquaintance

Several modifications were made to adapt the DCT to the needs of the present study. The dialogues and descriptions of the situations were shortened and simplified to make the test more readily understandable for intermediate ESL participants. Nonessential details and wording were removed to minimize the potential reactive effects of the participants using the language of the test that was not in their own interlanguage (Cohen & Olshtain, 1992).

The situation descriptions contained all the information necessary to determine the appropriate sociolinguistic response. Written responses to the participants' refusals (or acceptances) were omitted. Thus, the correct response was not contingent upon the requester's rejoinder which followed the participant's response. Cohen has noted the difference between a written role play with a rejoinder, known as a DCT, and one without a fixed response (personal communication, 1992). A completion test without a rejoinder is best referred to as a discourse questionnaire. The researchers believed that elimination of the rejoinder from the test would both simplify the task for the participants and prevent responses from being "framed" within the dialogue (thus limiting the range of responses to those which fit the rejoinder).

The questionnaire was first trialled by NNSs who were at a slightly more proficient level than the study's participants. A higher level was used because the difference in proficiency between intermediate (the level of the study's participants) and high intermediate (the level of the preliminary test takers) was much less than the difference between intermediate and low intermediate. As an additional check, the questionnaire was read by two instructors of the low intermediate class. They reported that they believed the questionnaire would be comprehensible to students in the low intermediate group. Wording which proved to be problematic was altered and some situations were replaced. The final version of the DQ consisted of six refusals to equal, lower, and higher status interlocutors—four of which were directed to acquaintances, one to a stranger, and one to an intimate or friend. Three similar situations designed to elicit acceptances were included as distractors. The post test was identical to the pre test; only the ordering of the situations was altered.

In their review of data collection methods, Beebe and Cummings found the DCT to be a useful measure for determining the perceived requirements for appropriate refusals in different situations and their canonical shape in the minds of the refusers. Beebe and Cummings point out, however, that DCTs "are not natural speech and do *not* accurately reflect natural speech or even unconscious, elicited speech" (1985:13). They found DCT responses to differ from speech in actual interaction in a variety of ways. The amount of talk, the number of turns, the number of repetitions and elaborations, and the variety of responses was greater in real interaction than in the written responses. This aspect of their findings supports the work of those who insist that DCTs can not replace natural speech in investigations of language use (Wolfson, 1989; Wolfson, Marmor & Jones, 1989).

To gauge the effect of treatment on the refusals provided in actual interaction, participants were contacted by telephone approximately two weeks following the instruction. The researcher identified herself as an employee of the university's Office of Student Life. (No such office exists.) Participants were first asked to answer a few questions about their experiences at the university and in their English language program. This was done in order to form a connection between the caller and participants. It was reasoned that known membership in the same academic community would decrease social distance between the researcher and participants and would increase participants' investment in the call and sense of obligation to the caller. In other words, it was believed that after a brief conversation with someone they thought to be part of their academic network, they would be less likely to hang up upon hearing the request and more inclined to engage in some form of negotiation. Beebe and Cummings (1985) used a similar tactic (the caller identified herself as a member of the same professional organization) to decrease social distance between caller and participant in their study of data collection methods.

Two requests were made of the participants: both were explained to be part of an international fair at the university (a fictitious event). Participants were first asked to give a speech to an American audience at a time during which they were known to have English class. The requests were all phrased in the same manner:

> ***"I was wondering if you would like to speak to the audience for a half hour about your perspective as an international student at Drexel."***

Participants were also asked to set up a table on the day of their final exam:

> ***"Would you be able to set up a table with food and information about your country's customs, culture, and stuff like that?"***

Participants who gave noncommittal answers received follow-up calls until they explicitly accepted or refused. These requests were selected not only because they conflicted with the participants' schedules but because they were considered to be extremely burdensome tasks. The requests also seemed to be the same sort made frequently of foreigners. Students have reported being asked to play the piano at their host family's church or speak about their country at a community meeting. They have also reported not knowing how to refuse these types of requests.

Instructional Component

Promoting *awareness* as a means of aiding language acquisition has been proposed by Thomas (1983), Sharwood-Smith (1988), Schmidt and Frota (1986), and Schmidt (1990). Schmidt states that "intake is what learners consciously notice. This requirement of noticing is meant to apply equally to all aspects of language (lexicon, phonology, grammatical form, pragmatics), and can be incorporated into many different theories of second language acquisition" (149).

Olshtain and Cohen maintain that sociolinguistic awareness is an essential first step to further development:

> It is therefore a level of residual awareness that we wish to promote as the objective of any explicit course of study. We believe that once such awareness is established, the learners will be less prone to commit pragmatic failures both as producers and receivers of speech act behavior, and that this awareness might ultimately speed up their approximation of native behavior (1988:21).

Thomas believes that a student's metapragmatic ability, "the ability to analyse language use in a conscious manner," (1983:98) must be developed in order to avoid pragmatic failure (which comes about when students are unaware of the relationship between the surface structure and pragmatic force of an utterance).

According to Takahashi and Beebe, awareness of cross-cultural differences is particularly important:

> We believe that *awareness* of cross-cultural differences in the rules of speaking will greatly improve a student's sociolinguistic competence. If the student is made aware, for example, that the refusal of a piece of cake can be as simple as "No thanks," he or she may avoid refusing, as one Japanese student did, by warning, "If I eat any more, my belly will stick out" (1986:178).

Thus awareness at various levels was seen to be an important part of the classroom component: awareness of cross-cultural differences; awareness of sociolinguistic factors which affect speech act realization choice (setting, status, social distance, etc.); awareness which would foster further learning.

Billmyer summarized necessary teaching/learning conditions as follows: comprehensible input containing the speech act forms; explicit teaching of linguistic, sociolinguistic, and pragmatic features; ample opportunity for self-discovery in a data-rich environment (implicit teaching); and, practice opportunities to achieve "fluency" (1990:108-9). In addition, materials must be based on accurate descriptions of native speaker baseline data.

While materials writers are beginning to produce materials which are sensitive to sociolinguistic and pragmatic needs as well as linguistic, most of these texts are dependent on illustrative dialogues (non-authentic) and lists of "useful" phrases (Billmyer, Jakar & Lee, 1989). Explicit teaching of the speech act and of important sociolinguistic features is less common. Taking these facts into account, we designed our own materials for the lesson.

Description

Both treatment and control groups had similar activities in the instructional component: discussion of personal experiences, reading and analysis of dialogues, explicit teaching, and role play practices. Both classes had an initial warm-up with a general question about student experiences in the U.S. Originally, we had hoped to use audiotaped authentic conversations (NS-NS and NS-NNS) for input, but this proved impossible for practical reasons. While classes were planned for 90 minutes, both were changed to 70 minutes due to late arrival of students.

Each lesson began with an introduction to the lesson topic and a warm-up discussion using a teacher question/elicit structure. This segment of the lesson focused on eliciting responses from students based on their own experiences. This was included to get the students personally involved in the topic, and to establish a connection between the lesson and students' lives. The two lessons also had similar closings: there was a brief discussion of possible ways to apply the information to their daily lives and an "optional homework" assignment was given.[1]

Control

This lesson was based on excerpts from *Talking With Americans* (Sharpe, 1984). In order to avoid unintentional instruction which might overlap with the treatment group, the control group teacher was informed of the purpose of the study and was asked to follow the lesson plan carefully.

The control group lesson was divided into four segments: an introduction (as discussed above), a discussion, practice activities, and a closing (as discussed above). The "discussion" segment included a short reading on "small talk" followed by discussion of using small talk to begin conversations with Americans. The practice segment included several activities: oral dialogue reading, comparative analysis and evaluation of two dialogues, a look at possible small talk topics, four "What can you say?" situations (read the situation and respond), and several role plays. Authentic input and opportunities for implicit learning were not included.

Treatment

The treatment lesson was also divided into four segments: the introduction and closing (as described above), a cross-cultural comparison segment, and an explicit teaching segment. The majority of the lesson was spent on awareness building and explicit teaching. There were some practice activities, but these were limited. Authentic input and opportunities for implicit learning were not included.

The cross-cultural comparisons segment included several activities for building awareness and practice. The first encouraged students to consider a variety of situations and imagine what they would do or say. This was followed by a discussion of what each student would do or say in the native country/language. This activity was intended to build awareness about what factors influence language (social status, setting, etc.) and about possible cultural differences. It also provided an opportunity for the teacher to gauge students' existing knowledge about useful refusal phrases. Two dialogue practice activities followed: a jigsaw dialogue and a dialogue to read aloud. (This was useful in the next segment, explicit teaching. Phrases the students already knew didn't need to be taught and could be referred to in the discussion.)

Because we were unable to obtain authentic data in time for the lesson,[2] "created" dialogues were used. This also eliminated the possibility of an authentic listening component which we believe would have been optimal. As a kind of mitigating force against the artificiality of the dialogues, and as a further awareness activity, students were asked to analyze the dialogues. Finally, students brainstormed about factors which might influence what they would say in each situation. The purpose of this activity was both to check and to raise awareness of sociolinguistic factors influencing language.

The third segment of the lesson focused on explicit teaching of refusals to requests and invitations. A very limited set of data and a simplified explanation of refusal strategies was selected for explicit teaching based on the available time and student level. A chart of refusal strategies for requests and invitations was sketched on the board and discussed (Table 4).

Table 4: Refusal Strategies

Requests	Invitations
statement of positive opinion (say something to make the person feel good)	some kind of filler such as a "Well," "hmm," "Let me see" (a 'starter')
a regret is optional	express regret
excuse	excuse

In particular, the following were taught:

> it is best to "say something to make the person feel good" (a statement of positive opinion) before refusing when there is a request. Suggested possibilities were, "That's a good idea," or, "I'd love to...";
>
> before refusing an invitation, we often use some kind of "starter" such as "Well," "Hmm," or, "Let me see";
>
> "I'm sorry" is often overused by NNSs. "That's too bad" was discussed as a possible substitute;
>
> excuses are essential elements in refusals; excuses should be specific; and, excuses to friends are often more detailed.

A set of discussion questions with situations for refusing was handed out and each situation was discussed. These situations were intended to reinforce the explicit instruction. Due to time constraints, the last activity in this segment (practice and roleplay of the original situations) was omitted.

Data Analysis

The DQ and telephone interview responses were coded using a modified version of the classification scheme for refusal strategies used by Beebe et al. (1990) (Appendix 3). For example, if a participant responded to a professor's invitation to a dinner party by saying, "Yes, I would like to go to your dinner party. But this Saturday I'm busy. I'm so sorry. I'm not able to attend," this was coded as: [adjunct: statement of positive opinion] [excuse, reason, or explanation] [statement of regret] [statement of negative willingness/ability].

Interrater reliability was established by first using the trial questionnaire to discuss categories and establish agreement on coding. Next, the two raters coded sample questionnaires from the trial group independently. These coded responses were discussed to verify agreement on the coding categories and to consider any changes necessary to the coding system (discussed below). All responses from the DQs and the telephone transcripts were then coded independently by each rater. The coded responses were checked for any discrepancies in coding. Discrepancies were reconciled by discussion between the two raters until consensus was reached. Discussion was conducted with reference to how other responses on the questionnaires and in the telephone transcripts had been coded. In each case, several previously coded responses were considered to establish reliability across the data.

It was impossible to fully account for each response using the original version of the coding system (Beebe et al., 1990). The revised system divides responses into four broad categories: acceptances, direct refusals, indirect refusals, and adjuncts to refusals. Several additions were made to the system in order to describe all of the strategies employed by participants. The category "true postponement" was created for responses whose intent was not to refuse but to put off the event to a specific time in the future. These strategies differed from "acceptances that function as refusals," such as "I guess" and also from "promises of future acceptance" such as "maybe next time." To account for the telephone interview responses, the categories, "request information" and "acceptance" were added. A category for a questionnaire strategy which "question(ed) validity of the request," was also added. The category, "acceptance that functions as a refusal," was collapsed when no difference was discernible in the data between its sub-categories: "unspecific or indefinite reply" and "lack of enthusiasm."

Exceptional strategies which were linguistically comprehensible but were clearly not appropriate to the situation and/or did not fit the coding scheme were coded as "inappropriate or uncodable." Refusing to sign a petition by saying "ask me something easier," or, "ask somebody else," are examples of responses which fall into this category. Responses which were were linguistically incomprehensible or uninterpretable from the telephone transcriptions were coded as "ambiguous."

In the analysis of the written responses, a quantitative comparison was made of the treatment and control groups' differences between pre and post tests. A qualitative analysis of the frequency and specificity of excuses in different situations was then performed. The various strategies employed on specific questions were examined. In analyzing the spoken data, responses from treatment and control groups were compared. The strategies employed by participants on the telephone were compared with their written responses to the most similar questionnaire situation (situation six).

Discourse Questionnaire

Frequency Counts

Following Beebe et al. (1990) a frequency count of coded responses for treatment and control groups was performed (Appendix 4). Analysis of the frequency count revealed little variation in the number or range of strategies employed by participants in the treatment and control groups. However, response differences were found in two areas: excuse production and situation context. The number of excuses provided from pre to post tests by respondents in treatment and control groups differed slightly. Trends in the data suggest that participants may have been sensitive to some situational variables in the questionnaire. Due to the small number of participants, differences could not be measured statistically. Subsequently, a qualitative analysis of the data was performed.

Overall Number of Excuses

Prior research has shown that excuses are an important component of American English refusals. Beebe et al. (1990) reports that 100% of American English refusals to requests made by a status equals contained an excuse. Thus, excuses appear to be a crucial part of refusals. The importance of providing an excuse in refusals to invitations and requests was emphasized in the treatment class. Only 68% of the refusals provided by participants on the pre test contained excuses; an increase in the number of excuses provided by the treatment group from pre to post test would suggest that instruction was effective. Of course, the *quantity of excuses* does not reflect the overall *appropriateness of the refusals*. However, in light of our desire to remain consistent with Beebe et al. (1990) and due to the lack of full descriptions of NS refusals, this seemed the most viable method of analysis.

Comparison of the overall number of excuses indicated that treatment may have had an effect: across all questionnaire situations, participants in the treatment group used two more excuses in their post tests than in their pre tests; the control group provided four fewer excuses in their post tests than in their pre tests. It is important to note that the student who was considered to be "most advanced" by his teachers, Yuki, was responsible for the treatment group increase. The other participants in the treatment group did not alter the total number of excuses employed from pre to post test.

Number of Excuses in Specific Situations

An examination of the responses to specific situations showed that there was one situation where the difference in the number of excuses provided by the treatment and control groups from pre to post test was greatest. Responses to Situation 2/6, an invitation to study at the house of a "friend," showed a slight increase in the number of excuses provided by the treatment group (+2) from pre to post test, and the largest decrease of excuses from pre to post test for control group responses (-4) across all situations (Table 5).

The meaning of "friend" as inalienable friend, casual friend, expedient friend, or close friend[3] was not discussed in the treatment or control classes. In the treatment class, the different meanings of "friend" were not distinguished by the teacher or by the participants during the discussion of the necessity or specificity of the excuses. One student did show awareness of the fact that responses varied according to intimacy by asking, "A good friend or just a friend?" when taking the pre test. All of the participants said they thought less detailed excuses were required for "good friends" than "acquaintances," again reflecting an understanding of the effect of intimacy on responses. (They felt lengthy explanations were unnecessary because "a friend would know.") Despite this lack of clarification about the *meaning* of "friend," the teacher emphasized the importance of giving detailed excuses to "friends."[4] The increase in number of excuses from pre to post in the responses to this situation may be the result of the importance placed on giving specific excuses to friends in the treatment class and would then be evidence of the effect of treatment.

Table 5: Number of Excuses per Response by Situation

Control

Situation	Pre	Post	Difference
1/9	2	2	0
2/6	4	1	-3
4/3	1	2	+1
6/7	2	2	0
7/2	1	0	-1
9/4	2	1	-1
Totals	12	8	-4

Treatment

Situation	Pre	Post	Difference
1/9	3	3	0
2/6	3	4	+1
4/3	1	3	+2
6/7	3	2	-1
7/2	2	2	0
9/3	3	3	0
Totals	15	17	+2

Content of Excuses

It is possible to gauge the effectiveness of the treatment not only by analyzing the numbers of excuses in the refusals, but also the content and specificity of the excuses. Beebe et al. suggest that "excuses are perhaps the most promising area for content analysis" (1990:66). The researchers' personal experience indicates that content and specificity of excuses is important, but problematic for NNSs. Students are frequently unsure about the amount of detail required in their excuses, often supplying not enough or too much. Since the importance of giving specific excuses to friends was stressed in the treatment group, a change in the content or specificity of the excuses provided by the treatment group might signify that treatment was effective.

Excuses were rated for specificity using a three point scale. General, non-specific excuses such as "I am very busy this week," or "I have no extra time," were coded as +1. Excuses which had one element of specificity by naming a person, place or activity were coded as +2 for example, "I have *an appointment* at that time." Excuses which named two elements, such as "I have to see with *my friend* to *have a dinner*," were coded as +3.

In situations where excuses were provided in both pre and post tests, there was very little overall variation in the level of specificity for treatment and control groups. One member of the treatment group greatly increased the specificity of his excuse from pre to post test.

> **Teru - pre test:** (specificity +1)
>
> Yes, I would like to go to your dinner party. but this Saturday, *I am very busy*, I'm so sorry. I'm not able to attend.
>
> **Teru - post test:** (specificity +3)
>
> Yeah. I want to go to your house for dinner this Saturday, *but I have some appointment with my friends*. I'm so sorry I can't go.

While there are no such examples in the control group, this single example of increase in specificity cannot be taken as an indication of effect of treatment. The overall constant level of excuse specificity from pre to post tests across groups indicates little effect of instruction.

Unusual Responses and Situational Variables

Certain questionnaire situations consistently elicited refusal strategies which were not found in responses to other situations. Refusal strategies which provided a "(true) postponement," "statement of (an) alternative," or which "set (a) condition for future or past acceptance" were considered to be unusual because they appeared in only three situations (1/9, 6/7, and 9/4).

The three unusual refusal strategies occurred in responses to situations which contained status differences. Two of the three situations which elicited unusual responses were set in a context familiar to the participants, a school or university setting. It seems that all three of these situations were *high obligation* situations in which the participants felt standard refusal strategies were inappropriate or not sufficient.

Strategies which were coded as "true postponements" appeared six times in response to Situation 1/9 and twice in responses to Situation 6/7.

> **1/9.** You are a very busy professor. A student wants to speak with you about an assignment, but you do not have any time this week.
>
> Student: Could I meet with you tomorrow morning to discuss my assignment?

Yukiko - pre test:

I'm sorry I have no time to meet you this week, because I'm very busy. *If you are not in a hurry, I can meet you next week.*

Rina - post test:

I'm sorry. I don't have any time this week. *Could you ask me that next week? I'm going to find out when I can make it.*

Maria - pre test:

Sure, but I don't have much time. *If you come here tomorrow at 10:00 am, we can talk about 15 minutes.*

This situation held certain expectations because of the role relationship and because it was familiar. The high number of "(true) postponements" may be reflective of the students' perceptions of the obligation involved. The students who trialled the DQ gave responses which also showed high numbers of true postponements to this situation. When asked about this, there was agreement among them that the teacher had an obligation to meet with students, that it was the teacher's job. We concluded that the amount of obligation induced by the situation was an important factor in the determining the response. The "(true) postponement" seems to be a way of refusing without refusing, by offering an alternative time.

One participant was responsible for both "(true) postponements" in Situation 6/7:

6/7. Your professor wants you to help plan a class party. But you are very busy this week.

Professor: We need some people to plan the class party. Do you think you can help?

Rina - pre test:

I'm sorry. I don't think so, but may be next week I can help you. *If you still need a help next week, please tell me. I'll help you.*

Rina - post test:

Well. actually I don't think so. I'm afraid I'm very busy this week. I'm so sorry *but if you need a help next week, too, please let me know. I'll help you.*

That she was the only participant to use this strategy in this situation may be attributable to her different interpretation of the time frame involved. While the other participants seem to have conceptualized the help as being needed immediately (this week), Rina obviously did not. Regardless, her postponement reflects a strong desire to meet the request made of her and to avoid refusing her teacher.

Responses containing strategies which "set (a) condition for future or past acceptance" appeared two times in responses to Situations 1/9 and three times in responses to Situation 9/4. Two examples are representative of these responses:

> **1/9.** You are a very busy professor. A student wants to speak with you about an assignment, but you do not have any time this week.
>
> Student: Could I meet with you tomorrow morning to discuss my assignment?
>
> **Teru - post test:**
>
> I'm sorry, I don't have enough time this week. *But I will effort to make a time next week.*
>
> **9/4** You are the boss of a big corporation and one of your employees is having a big party. You will not be able to attend.
>
> Employee: I am having a party on Saturday night. I was wondering if you would like to come.
>
> **Yiannis - pre test:**
>
> Sorry, I want but I can't this Saturday. *Why you didn't tell me before?* I make schedule for this Saturday. Thank you a lot but I can't.

In both of these situations the participant is being invited or requested to do something by a lower status interlocutor. It was reasoned that in these situations participants felt obligated to accept but also had the authority to defer responsibility for meeting the obligation.

Refusals which contained a "statement of (an) alternative" occurred only in the responses to two situations. In Situation 6/7, where the refuser is of lower status, the statement suggests an alternative that the *refuser* could do.

> **6/7.** Your professor wants you to help plan a class party. But you are very busy this week.
>
> Professor: We need some people to plan the class party. Do you think you can help?

Teru - pre test:

Oh, I'm sorry. I'm very busy this week, so I can't help you. *If I met some my friends, I will tell my friends about this.*

Teru - post test:

I'm sorry, I want to help you, but I'm so busy this week. *If you need some people, I will ask my friends.*

A "statement of (an) alternative" in which the refuser suggests the *requester* do something was only produced by one participant for Situation 1/9; this occurred in both the pre and post test. One interpretation of this is that when the refuser is of higher status, it is possible to suggest an alternative action for the requester, in this case the student, to perform.

1/9. You are a very busy professor. A student wants to speak with you about an assignment, but you do not have any time this week.

Student: Could I meet with you tomorrow morning to discuss my assignment?

Yiannis - pre test:

Really sorry, I can't this week, *please tell with someone from the class*, but I will try to find little bit time this week or next week.

Yiannis - post test:

Sorry I can't this week. *Please discuss with some classmate*, and if you have any questions ask me, next week. But I'll try to find time this week, sorry but.

The small number of participants make the data susceptible to one individual's response preferences. It is important to note that one participant was responsible for almost half of the responses coded as "statement of alternative" or "postponement." It unclear whether she was exceptionally sensitive to obligations, or if certain situations were obligation inducing.

Exceptions in the Data

Two utterances[5] on the questionnaire were coded as ambiguous. Three strategies were coded as "inappropriate or uncodable." Two of these were judged to be inappropriate attempts to "repair" the damage done by the refusal. Both of these repair attempts occurred in the responses to Situation 9/4 in which a boss is refusing a party invitation from an employee. One participant ended his response with "Please have a good day," the other by saying, "I hope you'll have a great time." It is interesting that both of these unusual uses of formulaic responses are found in the situation and role, "boss of a big corporation," which was unfamiliar to the participants.

Telephone Interviews

The strategies employed in the responses to the researcher's request to give a speech or set up a table differed greatly from those used on the questionnaire and also varied widely among participants. No consistent differences between the treatment and control groups' responses were found, indicating that the effect of treatment was not measurable using this instrument, not transferable to a setting outside the classroom, or non-existent.

Overall, participants employed infrequently the strategies which were commonly used in the DQ. "Excuses, reasons, explanations," and, "statements of regret," while used frequently and appropriately on the questionnaire, were rarely employed on the telephone. For all participants there seemed to be a gap between their demonstrated knowledge on the questionnaire and their production on the telephone. This gap was not bridged by instruction.

The percentage of excuses per total number of strategies employed by each participant in the pre test, post test, and telephone interview demonstrates this gap (Table 6). A slight increase in the percentage of excuses is noticeable from pre to post test for the treatment group; there is a slight decrease in the post test percentages of the control group. By far the greatest difference is the drop in the percentage of excuses provided from questionnaire to telephone responses for both groups. Maria, the exception, only had six conversational turns, three of which were excuses.

Table 6: Percent of Excuses/Total Number of Strategies by Participant

Participant	Pre test	Post test	Telephone
Treatment			
Maria	25	22	50
Teru	30	32	0
Yuki	18	32	19
Control			
Rina	12	19	05
Yiannis	17	09	0
Yukiko	21	13	10

A drop in the percentage of regrets per total number of strategies from the questionnaire responses to the telephone responses is also visible (Table 7). Again, a pattern which indicates that the participants were not able to produce orally what they were clearly capable of forming on their written tests is apparent.

The participants' overall reactions to the caller's requests fell evenly into one of three categories. Two subjects were judged as having refused appropriately (Yukiko and Maria); two participants accepted, one with enthusiasm (Yuki) and one with obvious reluctance (Yiannis); and two gave refusals which were clearly inadequate and inappropriate (Teru and Rina). Treatment and control group participants were equally present in each category, suggesting again that the treatment did not have an effect on the participants' telephone responses.

Table 7: Percent of Regrets/Total Number of Strategies by Participant

Participant	Pre test	Post test	Telephone
Treatment			
Maria	10	13	0
Teru	30	32	0
Yuki	18	0	0
Control			
Rina	16	24	10
Yiannis	19	35	0
Yukiko	29	40	16

The strategies employed by the participants on the telephone are best compared with responses to the most similar questionnaire situation. In Situation 6/7 a professor requests help with a class party: a higher status acquaintance makes a request of a lower status interlocutor. Because early in the telephone interview the researcher established that she and the participant belonged to the same academic community and then proceeded to engage in conversation, it is possible to consider them acquaintances. It was reasoned that the participants would assume the caller to be a teacher or someone of parallel status in the university; we can tentatively assume the caller held a higher status than the participants. Thus, both the researcher on the telephone and the teacher in the written questionnaire were higher status acquaintances who were associated with their university and making requests of the participants. Based on these contextual parallels, it is possible to make a rough comparison between the responses given in each situation.

Yukiko used some of the same strategies in her pre test, post test, and telephone response: "excuse, reason, explanation," "statement of regret," and, "negative willingness/ ability." Only on the telephone did she produce a "repetition of part of (a) request" and a "request (for) information," both of which seemed to be products of the actual interaction and negotiation:

> *On the eighteenth, next Wednesday?...*[6]
> *speech?...*
> *Wednesday. ...*

She did use three of the same strategies across testing situations; the DQ seemed to reflect her oral responses fairly accurately.

Maria, mentioned above, used an excuse effectively three times in her telephone interview:

> *I think that I am not prepared to speaking, to speak half an hour.*
> *My English is not enough now.*
> *I have class that day.*

In her written response, however, she offered two alternatives which she did not do on the telephone. In her post test she expressed regret, which she also did not do on the telephone. It seems either she was unable to employ these strategies in actual interaction or she felt less obligated to do so.

Yuki only employed one common strategy in both his written and oral responses: "excuse, reason, explanation." In his written responses he used "negative ability or willingness"; strategies which he did not use on the telephone. Because he accepted on the telephone, this difference is to be expected.

Yiannis employed entirely different strategies on his questionnaire and telephone responses. While he offered an "excuse, reason, explanation" and a "statement of alternative" in the questionnaire, he requested empathy on the telephone:

> *What time I be gone, because it is difficult for me.*
> *Because it is difficult for me. I' m the only one from Greece. You want to know now?*

He did eventually accept the researcher's telephone request. It is unclear how much of his acceptance was due to his sense of obligation to assist the caller and what part of it was simply a result of not knowing how to manipulate the language adequately.

Rina expressed "regret" and used an "excuse, reason, explanation" in her pre test, post test, and telephone interview responses. But the percentage of both of these strategies fell considerably from the questionnaire to the telephone situation. In the DQ, she relied on a statement of "negative ability/willingness" but not on the telephone. In actual interaction, there was a greater number of strategies coded as "acceptance that functions as a refusal," suggesting an inability or unwillingness to refuse directly:

> *(pause) little bit*
> *(pause) yea*
> *yea, maybe*
> *maybe I can do it*

Teru employed a range of strategies in his questionnaire responses: "statement or regret," "excuse, reason, explanation," "statement of negative ability," and "wish." None of these strategies, which he clearly was capable of producing on his questionnaire, were used in his telephone interviews:

> *ahh..um...nothing specially*
> *yes, not really, nothing specially*

Discussion

We found little effect for instruction on the post test. Across all questionnaire situations participants in the treatment group used two more excuses in their post tests than in their pre tests. Responses seemed to indicate a sensitivity to certain situational factors such as familiar versus unfamiliar and role relationship. Patterns of responses indicate that some situations induce a higher sense of obligation. No effect of instruction was observable in the telephone interactions. These findings agree with Cohen and Olshtain (1988).

The most surprising finding was the difference between the responses given in the telephone interview and on the DQs. While Beebe and Cummings' study with NSs (1985) found that telephone interactions caused more elaboration, more negotiations, and more total talk; our work with NNSs, and Olshtain and Cohen's study (1988), led us to expect less negotiation, less elaboration, and less total talk. We were, however, surprised at the *degree* of disparity.

Methodological Considerations

There are several methodological considerations which need to be taken into account when reviewing this study. The small subject size was necessary for practical reasons and it proved valuable for doing a detailed analysis. However, the small sample size prohibited any statistical analysis and limits the generalizability of the study.

We solicited students from various national/linguistic backgrounds in an attempt to increase the number of participants; however, it might be more efficacious to control for this variable by including participants from only one national/linguistic background.

A more complete description of American English refusals is needed. Our baseline was derived from a cross-cultural study rather than a full description of the speech act in American English. In particular, there were few empirical guidelines to follow when deciding how to limit the description for the treatment lesson. Important considerations such as, "Which elements are most essential in a refusal?" and, "How significant is order?" could not adequately be taken into account. We did feel confident, however, in assuming excuses to be essential since they occur across all refusal situations.

There were several problems in data collection and analysis. Pausing might be an important strategy in spoken refusals; however, technical problems while recording the telephone interviews restricted this type of analysis. Follow-up interviews with the participants might have provided insights regarding their intent on the telephone. A closer match up between the telephone situation and the situation on the DQ might enable a more cogent comparison.

Testing situations varied slightly from pre to post test. While the pre test was administered at the beginning of the voluntary lesson, the post test was given during the participants' Written English class. All Written English class members took this test. One of the participants was absent; the Written class teacher gave him the post test the next day. Another participant brought her friend to the treatment group lesson. This "extra" participant was in a different class and was not available for post testing.

Instructional Component

Much still remains unclear regarding the teaching component of the study. We still know nothing about which portion (if any) was most effective. It is possible that instruction was effective on a level not recognizable by the present study's measures.

In particular, if awareness activities are useful for facilitating and/or accelerating learning, it is likely that no effect would show up in the short term. On the other hand, it is equally possible that this type of instruction would not be effective. More direct teaching, more practice activities, use of authentic data and/or a listening component —any of these may have been more effective individually or together.

In addition, the amount of time for instruction may have been a problem. The total period of instruction was only 70 minutes. While there were practical reasons for this time limit, the time may have been insufficient for mastering this material. It is also possible that the "one-shot" lesson, which does not allow for review practice and recycling of concepts, is less effective than several shorter lessons would be.

A final problem in the instructional component is that inaccurate information may have been given in the teacher's instructions that "excuses to a friend are more explicit." This may have been a misinterpretation of the Beebe et al. (1990) study which used to term "friend" but did not define it.

Implications

Possible effectiveness or ineffectiveness of awareness activities could not be determined; however, we believe they may be useful in the long term and might accelerate learning. We agree with Cohen and Olshtain's (1988) conclusions that "fine points of speech act behavior...can and should be taught in the second and foreign language classrooms" (20). Billmyer's findings (1990) also support this. Her study, which took place over a longer period of time, showed that compliments and compliment responses from instructed students more closely approximated native speaker norms (1990:319). However, as noted above, this can not be directly attributed to any portion of the instruction.

The student who wanted to know, "A good friend or just a friend?" when filling out the DQ gives evidence of sensitivity to sociolinguistic variables. Discussions during the lesson showed that students not only agreed with each other about what sociolinguistic factors influence linguistic choices, but also agreed with the teacher. Thus, it may be unnecessary to do extensive teaching about *which* factors influence linguistic choice; however, it is probably necessary to include instruction about the *interpretation* of those factors.[7] And in terms of teaching materials, responses to situations on the DQ and in the lesson, would indicate that familiar situations are more facilitative (Eisenstein & Bodman, 1986)[8].

The results of the present study direct us towards several paths of investigation. We consider the implications of the methodological and instructional weaknesses to be crucial. A more complete description of American English refusal strategies is required. Without this information, it is impossible to begin to design accurate lessons on American English refusals. In addition, information about the saliency of the constituents would be useful when considering what to teach. If we knew which elements of refusals were most salient to native speakers, instruction might focus on those elements. In addition, we need more information about the role(s) of direct teaching, amount of practice, awareness building, and level of English ability in developing pragmatic competence. We recognize that teachers and researchers continually question themselves about these same issues in all aspects of second language acquisition.

Methodologically, the usefulness of DQs and DCTs with NNSs needs to be investigated. Beebe, in her study of NNS-NS interactions concluded[9] that DCTs are "a highly effective means" for "studying the stereotypical perceived requirements for a socially appropriate (though not always polite) response," and for "ascertaining the canonical shape of refusals, apologies, partings, etc. in the minds of the speakers of that language," while acknowledging that they do not capture the "range of formulas and strategies used" or "the number of repetitions and elaborations that occur" (1985:10-11). Our data seems to indicate that the weaknesses of DQs and DCTs for data collection exist when they are used with NNSs, but the strengths do not necessarily hold. The realization of a "stereotypical perceived response" and the "canonical shape" may be limited by linguistic ability and perceived (or real) difficulty using a particular mode (telephone, for example). Much of what we know about speech act realization and pragmatic transfer has been ascertained using these measures. Their validity, especially for second language users, must be re-examined.[10]

---

[1] Since homework is usually not considered to be a fun, spare time activity, the researchers did not really expect the participants to do the optional homework assignments. It was included, however, to reinforce the idea that students could and should apply the instruction to their daily lives.

[2] In an effort to get data which was at least semi-authentic, approximately 10 hours of television programming was videotaped. The only refusals found were two direct refusals: both a refusal to answer a personal question from an interviewer. While it may be tempting to conclude from this that refusals are rarely offered in daily discourse, it seems more likely that this was due to the programs which were recorded and or a function of topics/settings/roles which are standard on television.

[3] These terms are based on Y. A. Cohen (1961), cited in *Talking with Americans* (Sharpe, 1984).

---

[4] It is unclear whether "friend" connotes intimate or acquaintance and thus whether refusals need to be brief or elaborated. In writing the discourse questionnaire the researchers' original aim was for this situation to gauge the shape of refusals to intimates (with reference to Wolfson, 1988). However, the DQ was based on the DCT of Beebe et al. (1990) which did not seem to use the term "friend" to indicate "intimate." The use of the word was problematic throughout the instructional component and in the interpretation of the literature.

[5] An utterance is a portion of the written response; it was termed as such because participants were instructed to write what they would say in actual speech.

[6] Each line is a participant's conversational turn. Interviewer responses have been omitted.

[7] See Thomas' (1983) discussion of the distinction between pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic failure, and how these should be treated.

[8] See also discussion in Cohen & Olshtain (1993:47) concerning the use of known/unknown roles and situations in the data.

[9] Beebe includes several other specific conclusions concerning the problems with and effectiveness of DCTs.

[10] Presented at the International TESOL Conference (1993) in Atlanta, GA. Our thanks to Kristine Billmyer for her help with this project and her comments on the paper. Thanks also to Andrew Cohen for his responses to questions.

References

Allen, P., Swain, M., Harley, B. & Cummins, J. (1990). Aspects of classroom treatment: Towards a more comprehensive view of second language education. In M. Harley, P. Allen, J. Cummings & M. Swain (Eds.), *The development of second language proficiency* (pp. 57-81). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Beebe, L. & Cummings, M. (1985). Speech act performance: A function of the data collection procedure? Paper presented at the International TESOL Conference in New York, NY.

Beebe, L., Takahashi, T. & Uliss-Weltz, R. (1990). Pragmatic transfer in ESL refusals. In R. Scarcella, E. Andersen & S. Krashen (Eds.), *Developing communicative competence in a second language* (pp. 55-73). New York: Newbury House.

Billmyer, K. (1990). *The effect of formal instruction on the development of sociolinguistic competence*. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania.

Billmyer, K., Jakar, V. & Lee, M.P. (1989). Developing pragmatic awareness through communicatively oriented materials. Paper presented at the Pedagogy and Pragmatics Colloquium at the International TESOL Convention in San Antonio, Texas.

Blum-Kulka, S. (1982). Learning to say what you mean in a second language: A study of the speech act performance of learners of Hebrew as a second language. *Applied Linguistics*, *3*(1):29-59.

Blum-Kulka, S., House, J. & Kasper, G. (Eds.). (1989). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies*. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Canale, M. & Swain, M. (1980). Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics*, *1*(1):1-47.

Cohen, A. & Olshtain, E. (1981). Developing a measure of sociocultural competence: The case of apology. *Language Learning*, *31*(1):113-134.

Cohen, A. & Olshtain, E. (1993). The production of speech acts by EFL learners. *TESOL Quarterly*, *27*(1):33-56.

Cook-Gumperz, J. & Gumperz, J. (1982) Communicative competence in educational perspective. In L. Cherry-Wilkinson (Ed.), *Communicating in the classroom*. New York: Academic Press.

Eisenstein, M. & Bodman, J. (1986). "I very appreciate": Expressions of gratitude by native and non-native speakers of American English. *Applied Linguistics, 7*(2):167-219.

Ellis, R. (1992). Learning to communicate in the classroom: A study of two language learners' requests. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition,*14:1-23.

Holmes, J. (1988). Compliments and compliment responses in New Zealand. *Anthropological Linguistics, 28*(4):485-508.

Manes, J. & Wolfson, N. (1981). The compliment formula. In F. Coulmas (Ed.), *Conversational Routine* (pp. 115-132). The Hague: Mouton.

Manes, J. (1983). Compliments: A mirror of cultural values. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Acquisition* (pp. 96-102). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Olshtain, E. & Blum-Kulka, S. (1985). Degrees of approximation: Nonnative reactions to native speech act behavior. In S. Gass & C. G. Madden (Eds.), *Input in Second Language Acquisition* (pp. 303-325). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Olshtain, E. & Cohen, A. (1983). Apology: A speech act set. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Olshtain, E. & Cohen, A. (1988). The learning of complex speech act behavior. Paper presented at the International TESOL Convention in Chicago, IL.

Rubin, J. (1983). How to tell when someone is saying "no" revisited. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language acquisition* (pp. 10-17). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schmidt, R. & Richards, J. (1980). Speech acts and second language learning. *Applied Linguistics*, *1*(2):129-157.

Schmidt, R. (1983). Interaction, acculturation, and acquisition of communicative competence. In N. Wolfson & E. Judd (Eds.), Sociolinguistics and second language acquisition (pp. 137-74). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Schmidt, R. W. (1990). The role of consciousness in second language learning. *Applied Linguistics, 11*(2):129-158.

Sharpe, P. (1984). *Talking with Americans: conversation and friendship strategies for learners of English.* Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Sharwood-Smith, M. (1988). Consciousness raising and the second language learner. In W. Rutherford & M. Sharwood-Smith (Eds.), *Grammar and second language teaching* (pp. 51-60). Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Takahashi, T. & Beebe, L. (1986). ESL teacher's evaluation of pragmatic vs. grammatical errors. *CUNY Forum* 12:172-203.

Takahashi, T. & Beebe, L. (1987). Development of pragmatic competence by Japanese learners of English. *JALT Journal*, *8*(2):131-155.

Thomas, J. (1983). Cross-cultural pragmatic failure. *Applied Linguistics*, *4*(2): 92-112.

Wolfson, N. (1976). Speech acts and natural speech: Some implications for sociolinguistic methodology. *Language in Society, 5*(2):189-209.

Wolfson, N. (1988). The bulge: A theory of speech behavior and social distance. In J. Fine (Ed.), Second language discourse: A textbook of current research. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Wolfson, N. (1989). *Perspectives: Sociolinguistics and TESOL.* Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Wolfson, N., Marmor, T. & Jones, S. (1989). Problems in the comparison of speech acts across cultures. In S. Blum-Kulka, J. House & G. Kasper (Eds.), *Cross-cultural pragmatics: Requests and apologies.* Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Appendix 1: Participant Profiles

Name	Age	L1	Country of Origin	Length of Stay in U.S.
Yiannis	22	Greek	Cyprus	8 mos.
Yukiko	26	Japanese	Japan	2 mos.
Rina	24	Japanese	Japan	10 mos.
Maria	27	Spanish	Ecuador	1 mo.
Teruyuki (Teru)	19	Japanese	Japan	18 mos.
Yukihide (Yuki)	25	Japanese	Japan	24 mos.

Appendix 2: Discourse Questionnaire

Name ____________________

Instructions: Please read the following situations. After each situation you will be asked to write a response in the blank after "you." Respond as you would in actual conversation.

1. You are a very busy professor. A student wants to speak with you about an assignment, but you do not have any time this week.

Student: Could I meet with you tomorrow morning to discuss my assignment?

You: ____

____

____

2. You and your friend have one class together. Your friend invites you to study together at her/his house. You don't want to.

Your friend: Do you want to study tonight at my house?

You: ____

____

____

3. After class one evening a student in your class offers you a ride home. It is cold and dark and you would be happy to get home quickly.

Student: I have my car here. Do you want a ride home?

You: ____

____

____

4. A professor invites you to his/her house for a dinner party. But you are not able to attend.

Professor: I am having some people over to my house for dinner this Saturday. Would you like to come?

You: ____

____

____

5. Your boss invites you to eat lunch with her/him. You think that you should go with your boss to have lunch.

Boss: There are a few things I would like to discuss with you. Can you have lunch with me today?

You: ______________________________

____

____

6. Your professor wants you to help plan a class party. But you are very busy this week.

Professor: We need some people to plan the class party. Do you think you can help?

You: ______________________________

____

____

7. A student at your school asks you to give your signature for a political cause. But you do not want to.

Stranger: Could you sign this petition please?

You: ______________________________

____

____

8. Your friend and classmate has been sick and not able to attend classes. S/he wants to borrow your class notes. You understand the situation and are willing to help by lending the notes.

Friend: I've missed an entire week of class. Would you mind giving me your notes to copy? I'll return them tomorrow.

You: ______________________________

____

____

9. You are the boss of a big corporation and one of your employees is having a big party. You will not be able to attend.

Employee: I am having a party on Saturday night. I was wondering if you would like to come.

You: ______________________________

____

____

Appendix 3: Coding Categories

- I. Direct
    - A. Performative verb
    - B. Nonperformative statement
        - 1 "No"
        - 2 Negative ability/willingness
- II. Indirect
    - A. Regret
    - B. Wish
    - C. Excuse, reason, explanation
    - D. Statement of alternative
        - 1. I can do X instead of Y
        - 2. Why don't you do ...
    - E. Set condition for acceptance
    - F. Promise of future acceptance
    - G. Statement of principle
    - H. Statement of philosophy
    - I. Attempt to dissuade
        - 1. Threat
        - 2. Guilt trip
        - 3. Criticism
        - 4. Request empathy
        - 5. Let interlocutor off the hook
        - 6. Self-defense
        - 7. Question validity of request
    - J. Acceptance functioning as a refusal
    - K. Avoidance
        - 1. Non-Verbal
            - a. Silence
            - b. Hesitation
            - c. Do nothing
            - d. Physical departure
        - 2. Verbal
            - a. Topic switch
            - b. Joke
            - c. Repetition of part of request
            - d. Indefinite postponement
            - e. Hedge
            - f. Request information
- III. Adjuncts to Refusal
    - 1. Positive feeling/opinion
    - 2. Statement of empathy
    - 3. Pause filler
    - 4. Gratitude
- IV. Other
    - 1. Inappropriate or uncodable
    - 2. "True" Postponement
    - 3. Acceptance
    - 4. Ambiguous response

Planning language-in-education in Arkansas: A case study

Felicia Lincoln-Porter
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

This paper will examine some aspects of language-in-education planning in the state of Arkansas and analyze some models of language planning that illuminate this case. I will give an overview of the state's educational planning process and describe how that process is then worked out in particular language planning situations. I will also examine Arkansas Language Planning in regard to Fishman's decision-making framework and Tollefson's centralized/decentralized distinction. In particular, this paper will examine the question: What is the place of language maintenance in a rural state where services are not tightly controlled and primary concern is with governing efficiency?

In the years since the passage of the Bilingual Education Act (BEA) in 1968 and since the Lau v. Nichols decision (1974), much energy has gone into the consideration of how to educate children who do not speak the language of the schools. National statistics and almost all reliable sources show that language minority[1] students in this country are at risk. In spite of having higher SAT scores than African Americans, Hispanics (the largest language minority group) are less likely to finish high school or attend college than African American students (Grey, 1991).

Scholarship and writing in the area of Language Planning (LP) have tended to set forth theories, frameworks, and models that implied a preference for native language instruction, the valuing of culture, and language/culture[2] as one way of successfully attending to the problem of language minority students. Some of the most respected voices in the field hold the same opinion: language maintenance is important and native language instruction in bilingual education (BE) is the most effective, humane way to teach language minority students (Fishman,1979; Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986; Holm & Holm, 1990; Morison, 1990). In the last few years, scholars have seemed to take this as given and have turned to issues of pedagogy, such as how to allocate the two languages in school, length of instructional time in each language, and what content material should be taught in what language (Wong Fillmore & Valadez, 1986).

Tollefson argues that one of the constraints on language planning goals for English as a Second Language (ESL) instruction (as opposed to native language instruction) is the socioeconomic need to keep a large labor pool for entry level jobs. Spener also holds that "the insights gained from sociological and linguistic investigation seem to show that this goal (of hurried English acquisition) serves the interest of society at the expense of the needs of language-minority students" (cited in Grey, 1991:151).

However, in examining language education planning in the case of Arkansas, I find myself in the uncomfortable position of questioning the generalizability of this stance. Two questions that emerged are: 1) What happens when there is little or no minority language community to support, advocate or participate in language maintenance or little state support in terms of funding, legislation or human resources? 2) In a community that has had few immigrants, refugees, or migrants, that has in fact known little linguistic diversity ever in its history, what is the role of the enlightened language planner?

Kalantzis, Cope, and Slade maintain that the massive *internationalizing* and *universalizing* of western nations have created a pluralism that can not afford either to trivialize traditional culture by advocating a "superficial" maintenance (dance, food, etc.) nor can it afford to defend maintenance where it is no longer a viable option. The argument offered is:

> Language is both determined by our social and natural being and creates or re-creates relations in our natural and social worlds for us....We should not prejudge the validity of a whole range of cultural-linguistic options. There might be wrong reasons in terms of association, desired community or even the perceived logistics of "getting ahead" to let an ancestral language drop. On the other hand, language maintenance might be a means of feeling a particular strength through community or of galvanizing support against the legitimacy within those broader structures, or as a transitional educational tool in acquiring a second language and continuing one's educational progress uninterrupted in the immigrant setting....*Language maintenance, however is not a value in itself* (1989:18; emphasis mine).

This argument is the same one that was offered both explicitly (on occasion) and implicitly (often) in the reasons and rationales given for the programs chosen and goals set for language minority children in schools in Arkansas.

Fishman describes LP in bilingual education as a four stage process of status planning:

1) decision-making as the "political process for arriving at a "final resolution,"

2) codification, which is the "formal statement of this resolution,"

3) elaboration, the authoritative formulated rules and regulations needed to put the "code" into operation,

4) implementation, which involves "the authoritative allocation of resources."

These rules can "reflect the unstated as well as the stated intent of the authorities involved." (1979). An example of the elaboration of unstated goals is the regulations of the Bilingual Education Act giving priority to programs with larger groups, thereby" penaliz(ing) applications on behalf of smaller and less concentrated (non-urban) language groups" (1979:13-15).

Both the Official English Act (Ivers, 1987), and a higher education English proficiency bill, House Bill 1100 (House, 1987) appear to be a type of *codification* of a position by planners in the United States. It appears from these cases that much of that *code i*s still in need of *elaboration*, but the fact that little money has been allocated for language minority instruction leaves the implementation factor a problem to be addressed in other ways and is again reminiscent of Tollefson's (1991) argument that the US has a policy of mandating English proficiency and inadequately funding that mandate.

While Kalantzis and others look at the issue of maintenance from the perspective of the migrating culture, Fishman (1969) looks at the question of LP decision-making at the national level and from the viewpoint of the planners. He describes developing nations in terms of whether they have a Great Tradition, that is whether they have a literary and oral history, whether their goals are *nationism* (a pragmatic need for efficient government) or "nationalism" (a more symbolic need for authenticity), whether there is a language of wider communication (LWC), if their LP concerns are minor (standardization assumed), and if their bicultural/bilingual goals are transitional to mainstream. Fishman calls a Type A decision one that does not recognize an existing Great Tradition, sees language needs in terms of the pragmatic *nationism* and the bicultural/bilingual goals as transitional to mainstream. That seems to describe the language planning process in Arkansas where the LWC is, of course, English.

Tollefson (1981) discusses decentralized and centralized planning. Decentralization, according to Tollefson, means that local authorities are allowed freedom to make decisions for their own situations. *Loose coupling* refers to the amount of interaction in planning and implementation that there is between state and federal planning levels. While the overall US educational frame seems to be one of decentralization and loose coupling between state and federal planning levels, if you examine Arkansas as an entity itself, there seems to be decentralization between state and local agencies (schools) as well. Not only were there several instances where the State Department of Education in Arkansas (SDE) did not seem aware of the district needs or the methods being applied to meet those needs, but also present were the diversity of methods and breadth of programming Tollefson described as characteristic of decentralized planning.

Ruiz (1984) talks about three types of language orientations: language as a problem, a right, or a resource. Ruiz believes that the attitudes or orientations toward a language's role in society affect trends in language planning. Defining or understanding orientations towards languages can help the planner to understand and predict planning and policy in this area.

Description of the State

Until recently Arkansas was called "The Land of Opportunity." Now it has been redesignated "The Natural State." Almost all of its industries are farming related. In the southeast, there is cotton, rice and soybeans. In the south part of the state, there is forestry and tomato farming, and west and northwest, there is poultry raising and processing; in the north (the Ozark mountain region), there is poultry farming and processing. The only other industry in the Ozarks to speak of is tourism. Real estate costs, taxes, and crime rates are low. Hospitality is still highly valued; people are held to be friendly—at least to each other.

Arkansas has had its troubled moments. In 1957, Little Rock Central High School was told to desegregate, and the National Guard was ordered up to see that they did so. More recently, the Governors' Delta Commission (Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission, 1989) introduced statistics on the Mississippi Delta region that indicated that region may be the poorest region in the US. Within that region, one of the poorest area is south and west of Memphis, Tennessee, in Arkansas. Some of the statistics for the state read like those of developing nations (i.e., infant mortality, teenage pregnancy, and literacy rates).

The state nicely divides itself by drawing a line from the northeast corner to the southwest corner of the state. The northwest is mountainous and traditionally its population has been all white. Many towns have not had a minority family live there since the exodus of the Native Americans and some only recently. The southeast part of the state is dedicated to farming and has traditionally had a large black population, dating back to the Civil War and before. While relations between the majority and Blacks has been characterized by oppression toward blacks, this area of the state has a history of minority populations.

So what attracts immigrants and migrants to Arkansas? It has a good climate and good farming. The Hmong who settled briefly in Fort Smith, Arkansas, said the climate and land were the closest to their home they had seen since they left Laos (Downing, 1984). Poultry processing provides jobs—jobs that most Arkansans do not want. Besides farming, Arkansas has a history of poverty, and those are two things the migrant knows well. Often they have known little else.

Procedure

Beginning with the census, I examined areas of Arkansas that had language minority populations. I used the 1980 census because the 1990 information on languages is not available yet. I marked the places in Arkansas that reported numbers of language minorities and began calling those school districts for information. I also spoke with two people at the Arkansas State Department of Education. I spoke with personnel in several school districts: Mena, Fort Smith, Springdale, Paragould, Little Rock, Pulaski County. I read the Office of Refugee Resettlement (ORR) Study of the Hmong in Fort Smith (1984), and called Dr. Bruce Downing at the University of Minnesota for information on the present whereabouts of that Hmong population. I also called the Migrant Student Record Transfer Service (MRSTS). I made several calls to the office of the *Arkansas Democrat* and *Arkansas Gazette* (now united in one office) for information in their archives on Arkansas' Official English Statute and language issues in recent state history. Also in reference to the Official English Statute, I called the Issues Department of the *Clinton for President* office and the records department of the state legislature.

From this information and other information (studies and news reports), I have tried to construct a picture of the way language planning occurs and what motivates it in the state of Arkansas. I have selected three cases to use for evidence and support of the LP picture I present: the Hmong in Fort Smith, the Springdale School District, the Paragould Junior High School.

Case Studies

In January of 1987, the Arkansas state legislature passed a statute making English the Official Language of the state. It passed 91 to 0 in the House and 29 to 2 in the Senate, clearly an overwhelming victory. Before the statute (Act 40) passed, the two representatives who introduced the bill said "this is not a major problem" but "...other states have been *forced* to use other languages in business and education because of the large number of immigrants" (Official English, Jan. 22, 1987, emphasis mine). The legislators appear to have won only *half* the battle. The statute made two statements: 1) English is the official language of the state of Arkansas, and, 2) this statute can not be used to prohibit the education of students in the state. With the addition of the education rider, most people I talked to in the state felt the law will have little effect on decisions regarding the education of language minority students.

The timing of the bill is interesting. It came at the end of 1986, when the nation from coast to coast seemed to be having a "language attack." Passage that year (1986) of the Immigration Reform and Control Act, and in California, the passage of Proposition 63, both indicate a nationwide interest in numbers of immigrants and control of language/culture spread. There were repercussions in small ways, too, such as the passage of Official English legislation in many states and the putting up and tearing down of foreign language street signs in several places (Philadelphia, for one [Stone, 1992]).

In Arkansas, this legislation appears to be a "knee jerk" reaction to the actions taken in other states. One senator offered the argument, "It would have virtually no effect," as reason to pass the bill. Another called it, "Frivolous legislation" (Official Language, Jan. 23, 1987). Another said he didn't want "documents...to have to be printed in more than one language...." but that the bill was not intended "to damage bilingual education or inhibit foreign language instruction in schools" (Committee Favors, 1987, January 21). From the embarrassed, unsure remarks the bill's sponsors made, it appears that they knew little of the bill's implications.

Still, the passage of Act 40 can be seen as a possible index of the state's view of language minorities. The fact that it was originally seen by at least some as beneficial to avoid native language instruction is interesting. It may provide a picture of an attitude in the state toward bilingual education programs and to planning for language education in the state in general. The message seems clear—English comes first.

There has been little else mandated by the state in the area of language education. There is no certification requirement (or provision) for ESL or BE instructors. There is no mandate for or against minority language education. The only other piece of related legislation was a bill also passed in 1987, requiring college professors to be able to speak English. How the bill would be implemented was not specified. The lack of centralized planning or authoritative elaboration of the legislation leaves the field open for an agency that is a main actor in the language planning for education in the state, the State Department of Education (SDE).

I spoke to Grier (1992), the SDE Foreign Language Advisor who became BE advisor/Title VII coordinator in the mid 1980s. Grier says the SDE has no official count of Limited English Proficiency (LEP) students.[3] A few years ago, a survey was sent out by SDE to schools. About 75% answered, but it was apparent that some school district officials were not familiar with the terminology used in the survey, and therefore, had difficulty in responding. Grier estimates that the state has about 2000 permanent non-English speaking residents.

According to Grier, the SDE receives "15-25 calls each year from school districts with LEP students. The SDE provides technical assistance by telephone, sends a large packet of materials designed to meet the needs of the individual school district situation, and refers the school district to the appropriate Multifunctional Resource Center for additional assistance" (follow up correspondence, Grier 12/11/92).

I asked what Grier did when districts called for help. She tells them:

1. The district should put the children in with the most sympathetic and interested teachers they have.
2. The district should mainstream the children (in the absence of a formal BE/ESL program and with small numbers of LEP students).
3. The children can not be put in Special Ed; if they are tested for Special Education, they must be tested in the native language (NL) of the child.
4. The SDE will train teachers if necessary.[4]

5. There is no money except for the programs for migrant children.
6. LEPs can be exempt from state-wide tests with parents' permission only. They can not be treated differently than other children unless the parents say it is all right. The SDE informs school districts of their legal obligations to LEP students.

Grier believes that school districts want to serve LEP students, but in many cases the districts do not have trained staff members or experience in serving LEP students. Districts are unaware of the resources available to them.

The Equity Center of the SDE has assisted school districts by supporting teacher training and by offering technical assistance. Guerrero of the Equity Center is now the SDE BE advisor/Title VII coordinator.

Guerrero (1992) and the Equity Center of the SDE deal with the legalities of educating children (e.g., civil rights, national origin issues, issues concerning treatment of children with learning disabilities). Guerrero, a bilingual himself, becomes involved with schools when legal injustices are suspected (as in the case of an occasional anonymous phone calls alleging inadequate treatment for LEP students or when there is non-compliance with federal laws). To help districts better serve this population, Guerrero is preparing a manual to aid districts.

However, for all his interest and concern, he does not believe BE/ESL belongs in his department. He wants to see it stay in the Instructional Program of SDE with other curricular programs. He feels that although issues of inequity are one aspect of serving these children, they are only one. Concerns about content and instruction should be addressed in their appropriate contexts.

Guerrero seems to state his concerns from a "language as right" perspective or perhaps "education as right." He believes that these students should be served like any other children—with education appropriate for their particular needs and circumstances. However, he does not see BE as a possibility in Arkansas. Whereas Grier notes the schools' lack of trained ESL teachers and experience with LEP students as the concern, Guerrero views educators' lack of training as fact to be legally addressed (interview, 1992).

Fort Smith

Although there may be lack of direction from the state, the Fort Smith school district was able to get BE money for their district. Fort Smith is the only district in the state to date that has actually received Title VII money. Bilingual Education falls in their

Compensatory Education Program, which also includes Chapter 1, Title V (Indian Education), Elementary Compensatory Education (children not covered by Chapter 1), an after school program for Junior and Senior High, and Chapter 2.

The ESL program in Fort Smith is now a district program, not a federal one; however, it still generally follows the original BEA guidelines with which it started in 1982 (Soucy, 1992). The program serves 600 children in the classroom and 600 students who are not ESL in the district. Those students not in the ESL classrooms are involved in cultural/community programs. The elementary program is a pullout ESL-bilingual program. At the secondary level, they offer bilingual ESL. They have five levels of ESL and receive two English credits for those: one at the ninth grade level and one credit in the year of their choice. They receive three credits in other areas of study. They offer other options as well as bilingual tutoring. Before they received Title VII money, they had 23 instructional staff; afterwards, they had 26 staff, not all instructional. During the time that they had Hmong, they had five Hmong staff (not instructional). They now have a total staff of 24 people.

Soucy reported that one thing they have wanted to institute and can not seem to "get going" is NL instruction in their own language. Part of the reason for that is that parents do not support the program. They are concerned that their children will not be able to get good jobs unless they speak English. Another reason is that in Forth Smith, the language minority communities are not self supporting. They do not even have a "Lao Town"; as they prospered, the Laotians have moved out and are not congregated in one area.

According to a study prepared for the Office of Refugee Resettlement, the Hmong came to Fort Smith in the late seventies and early eighties as part of a secondary migration from California (Downing, 1984:30). They left California, according to the ORR report, because they saw their children becoming dependent on that state's strong welfare program. The Hmong word for being "on welfare" is "no arms, no legs". They began looking for a place with less public assistance. Arkansas fits that description.

They also chose Arkansas because they had known an American in California who had been their friend. These particular Hmong were Christians, converted by missionaries in Laos. This man had befriended the Hmong and was also a Christian. He had eventually moved to Fort Smith. When the Hmong began to think of leaving California, they thought of this man and contacted him (Downing, 1984).

In 1982, there were 88 Hmong children scattered throughout the city. The district received Title VII money for three years to serve the Hmong. (They received

Title VII money for three more years for their other programs.) Since the Hmong were dispersed and there is no busing, they were served by an itinerant ESL instructor. The ESL program had one person with a graduate degree in ESL and linguistics, two American personnel and three Vietnamese. According to ORR, the district had thought for two years that the Hmong were Vietnamese.

The experience of the Hmong epitomizes some of the problems addressed by Tollefson (1991). In Fort Smith there were no time, no funds, and no facilities for learning English, so they worked in chicken processing plants. Sometimes two or three family members worked long and inconvenient hours. They had no opportunity to learn English and no chance for advancement without it.

They also fell victim to some persecution, called "rednecking" by locals—a type of harassment that usually stops at violence, but not much else. For example, the Hmong had cooperatively bought some land outside the city; some of their farm buildings were burned and fences torn down (Downing, 1984).

Teachers in the Fort Smith school district reported that the Hmong children worked hard, but did not perform as well in school as the other Asian children, probably because of their lack of previous education. Also Downing reports that some of the students were working nights at the chicken processing plant and going to high school during the day. At the time of Downing's report, only one child had dropped out of school. Some teachers had believed that the Hmong students would really benefit from the proposed bilingual education program (Downing, 1984). However, when I talked to Nguyen in the ESL Department of the Fort Smith schools, she said one of the problems with native language instruction for the Hmong population was the lack of professional people to draw from for bilingual educational support or professional staff, a problem they did not have with other language populations (Nguyen, 1991).[5]

Other educators cited cultural differences as causes of student school problems. Some parents arranged marriages, expected their children to work long hours, and refused to allow their children to attend extracurricular activities and study sessions. Kalantzis, Cope and Slade (1989) discuss the problems immigrants have when they move from their original society to the new one in deciding which of their cultural practices they can keep and which must go. The Hmong dilemma here seems to be just such an intersection for decision-making of both the Hmong and the schools.

In Fort Smith, with apparently little community support for language/culture maintenance, few opportunities for adults to learn English and a history of some hostility to language minorities, the question becomes: what is the role of maintenance?

Because I had read the ORR Study of the Hmong people, I asked Mr. Soucy what had happened to the Hmong since 1984. He said they had all moved. I called Dr. Downing to follow up on them. He said they are in Atlanta now: The government offered them incentives to move (1992). Research indicated that other Hmong were doing well in Atlanta and moving up and out of entry level positions. Therefore, the Hmong went there. Downing hopes to do follow up on them in 1993. It will be interesting to see if they have been able to study English and how they have managed to break out of entry level positions.

Federally funded bilingual education was not able to meet the needs of these Hmong children. They report success with the other language minority students in the program. Perhaps the Hmongs' needs were not recognized in time, possibly because these educators had so little experience with language minority children or because of the educational background of the Hmong. Very likely, all of those issues conspired together to thwart the Hmong in Fort Smith.

Springdale

Fort Smith has had Title VII money in the past; in Springdale, Arkansas, the effect of federal funding is still to be seen. Located in the northwest corner of the state, this is an Ozark mountain region that has always been populated by Whites. I spoke with Dr. Jones, Assistant Superintendent for Instruction who has this year written a grant proposal for Title VII money (1992). She was very open and enthusiastic about the program. They are developing a transitional ESL program, not bilingual, according to Jones, because there are too many languages represented. They serve 100 non-English speaking and LEP children out of 8000 children in the district. They have not been concerned about languages spoken at home but just the perceived need of the children. The children are informally identified, but if Springdale is awarded the grant, the school will do on-site tests for reading/writing and speaking/listening.[6] They have some Spanish speaking bilingual tutors, but they have children from the Marshall Islands and Laotians as well. They have offered their teachers some training workshops.

Jones said that pressure to apply for Title VII had come from two counts: 1) a high school counselor[7] told Jones, "we've got kids suffering. They need help," and, 2) there had been a *little bit* of parental concern. A few parents had come and said, "I think you must educate these children. You have to overcome the barriers to education." She said it is a civil rights issue.

Jones felt the state had been remiss in not applying for Title VII money and suggested that I talk to Andre Guerrero at the SDE. She said he had been very helpful to her. They have taken most steps to serve these students based on what they felt were civil rights issues.

In closing, I asked if there was anything she could think of that I should know about the Springdale program. Jones said:

> It is important for you to know that philosophically the intention of our program is to integrate the students as quickly as possible, enculturate them as quickly as possible. Our area is middle America. This place is not used to foreigners. So these students must adapt to middle America. We don't want to invalidate their cultures, but it's not like southern California where they offer a lot of Mexican American history.

It was apparent from talking to Jones that she had read the literature on language and culture; she had simply not seen it as relevant (or perhaps possible) for her educational situation. The need to avoid *language ghettos* and assimilation problems, possibly of the kind experienced by the Hmong in Fort Smith, made the fastest transition seem the best. Jones appears to view these children's language needs as a problem. In a later communication, she discussed with me the difficulty of providing NLI when there are five students and no textbooks. She said that while the diversity might well be "a resource; it could not be a right." In contrast, the next case while still clearly having bicultural transition to the mainstream as a goal is a clear example of a language as resource orientation.

Paragould

Paragould, Arkansas is in the northeast corner of the state. It, too, is in a largely white section of the state that is completely unused to language minorities (Clark, 1992). There had never been any language minority students, until October, 1985 when Rusty Clark, principal of a junior high school in Paragould, came to school to find two Mexican migrant worker's children waiting. The father was with them but spoke virtually no English; an older brother (a teenager) had come to translate. He spoke *some* English.

The district was completely unprepared for two junior high age Hispanic children, a boy and a girl. Clark said he was told (by the district) "to fix it, we've got to do something, be creative" and to "forget the grades." He said he had a really strong Spanish program and placed them there. He never received a transcript and was never sure where they had come from.

At first the two children spent most of their time with the Spanish teacher. For the first four or five days, they never spoke. Then the girl, Aida, began to open up in all her classes. She began to attend math, chorus, physical education and loved art. The boy, Albert, seemed comfortable only in music and Spanish, where he really excelled. He laughed and joked. Whistle, the Spanish teacher, reported (Interview, 1992) that he had a good sense of humor and often supplied synonyms for the vocabulary learned in class. The Anglo teachers wrote the children's assignments in English and the Spanish teacher translated. They assigned peer tutors to the children for help with English. Aida and Albert tutored the Anglo children in Spanish ("Paragould Students," 1985).

From the descriptions provided by Clark, it is obvious that these children were living in economically difficult circumstances. Clark was concerned with their coping skills. He wanted them to be able to buy groceries, instead of eating fast food and was concerned about their health and hygiene. He said he was primarily concerned with two things. First, the children should not be ostracized; they should be socialized into US culture, and the "other kids" learn to accept their differences. Clark felt his Anglo children had no idea that the differences they saw between themselves and the Mexican children were cultural. The Anglos laughed at the migrant children because of "simple proxemics, the Mexican children stood too close and touched too much. The other kids just couldn't handle that." Clark tried to educate both groups. It is true that the Anglo children need to learn to recognize differences and appreciate them, but Clark felt that the learning process should not be at the expense of the two migrant children. His second goal was that these two children regain self-esteem. He said he saw that as a "big deal" and that was why the Spanish classes were so important. The children could be useful there. He said when he studied languages, he hated tapes and that the children were very helpful as models of Spanish speech. Clark believed that Aida and Albert needed to be socialized quickly. His program, though enlightened, creative, and humanistic in approach, was still transitional and assimilationist.

When asked what he knew about theories or approaches to language teaching. He said "I can tell you in one word: nothing." He had not had time to learn anything. They just did what seemed sensible; they also experimented. The children were not there long. He does not know where they went. They are migrants.

There are some interesting points here. Clark appears to have intuitively seen the value of the children's native language in their education. In all the talk, not once did he discuss the role of the English teacher in these students' instruction. In other schools I have seen (and taught in), a non-English speaking student is often placed in English classes all day long (not ESL, these are schools where those classes do not exist). That option seems to never have occurred to Clark. When asked about how he felt about receiving these children, he said, "We were excited. We wanted to hire Aida to tutor Spanish students in the high school. They simply were not here long enough." At the end of the interview, I talked a little about language orientations. He was amazed, "Language as problem? Why in the world?" That idea simply had not occurred to him (Clark, 1992).

When I asked him if he would use this approach again, Clark said in sixteen years these were the only two non-English speaking students he had had. One time he had a German student, but he had spoken several languages fluently—English was one. Clark doubted if this would ever be an issue again.

Discussion

The fact that Arkansas is a decentralized LP situation enables these three school districts to create entirely different contexts for second language learners. Although all seem to set assimilation as goals for their students, their methods for helping students are different. Fort Smith created a ESL-bilingual pullout. Springdale intends to provide as much simple ESL instruction as possible. Paragould sees their language minority students as both a chance to serve and be served and implemented a program involving more native language instruction and utilizing the Hispanic children as tutors as well as students.

Intuitively Clark felt that native language instruction had value for education and for building self-esteem as well. He also understood that languages and cultural diversity have something to contribute to the mainstream population. Still it is important to note here that, had Paragould not had a strong Spanish program, a different program and possibly a more problem-type orientation might have resulted. In addition, when discussing the Paragould case with people in the state, at least two different informants made the point that while two migrant children were exciting and exotic, two hundred might have been something else again. So again, the question is: Where there are no community/school resources available, what is the role of language maintenance? Additionally, what is the role of the school towards maintenance?

As is often the case with minority populations, the people most affected do not seem to have been asked what their goals are for themselves and their children. Only

Jones, in Springdale, solicited community input. Other questions then are: what do these language minorities want for themselves, and what do they think is reasonable to expect of schools?

Fishman (1979) maintains that socioeconomic and political issues can not be separated from linguistic ones. That is apparent from the cases examined here. Jones, in Springdale, obviously considered the issue in her district to be unrelated to language in its own right. For societal and economic reasons, she wanted minority language children integrated into "Middle America" as quickly as possible. Clark, too, felt that the issue was social, economic, psychological, and even physical well-being; language was a means to an end. In Fort Smith, the situation of the Hmong (while very complex) seemed to be one of socioeconomic issues first and language needs second, at least as it is perceived by the language minority community, the ORR, and the schools.

Tollefson's decentralized language planning, especially the idea of loose coupling, allows for a wide range of programs for diverse needs; but in Arkansas, there also seems to be a need for closer communication among actors. In certain circumstances (in the case of MRSTS and the SDE, for one), the right hand needs to know what the left hand is doing—especially if the left hand has the money in it. The issue of money was very difficult to clarify. Few of the educators I talked to seemed to know that the Migrant Office had Chapter 2 money that was possibly available for teacher training in BE. There seemed to be confusion over whether there was money or not and where to get it. Since the initial research for this was done, two districts which applied for Title VII grants have been turned down. The SDE has offered two training sessions on the writing of Title VII grants; perhaps this will lead to successful Title VII grant writing by Arkansas school districts and cooperatives. One informant who was turned down said that another problem that rural areas had was that in states like California, when one district wrote a successful grant, it was passed around from district to district. In Arkansas, there is no such network. They are beginning at zero. Again the decentralized nature of planning seems to be an issue here. Tighter networking is called for.

Fishman's decision-making typology (1969) was very helpful too for understanding the language planning done in Arkansas education, if we look at Arkansas as a "State" and not a "state," and a State that often resembles a developing nation. As in Type A developing nations, the elites (or actors) in Arkansas certainly seemed not to consider there to be an "indigenous Great Tradition" (113). Also, there appeared to be no conflict among the actors as to the type of decisions to be made.

Few even mentioned the need for extensive native language instruction.[8] Again, Official English legislation and its easy passage seem to be an example of a Type A "early, unconflicted arrival" at decision (113).

The concern in Arkansas is more "nationism" than "nationalism," Official English notwithstanding. There is a concern on the micro level (schools) with "operational efficiency" ("we have too many languages" for BE) and only English (the LWC) is seen as fulfilling nationwide (statewide) purposes on a permanent basis (114). Bilingualism is viewed as having no nationwide function by the planners and as having a transitional role.

Jones' wish to incorporate minority language children as quickly as possible and to find ways to see that they "adapt to middle America" parallels Fishman's description of decision makers who are in "search of new and effective ideological and behavioral systems that promise rapid integrative returns on a large scale" (116). While this is Fishman's model of a Type A nation, it is also an accurate description of what I found in Arkansas.

To return then to Kalantzis, Cope and Slade (1989), a people's language and culture (at least at the simplest level) are seen as the pragmatic solution they make to social and physical need. Humanity is, therefore, not duty bound to preserve what is not useful or necessary to life. That is expressly the position held by most of the planners in Arkansas.

In a planning situation such as schools in Arkansas where educators often go many years without seeing a language minority student, it seems unrealistic to expect them to be prepared to educate and preserve those students' language and culture. When the language minority community is made up largely of migrants and refugees, it is not realistic to expect schools to be able to find professional staff to serve the educational needs of these students. The minority populations surveyed here worked long hours, often nights and weekends, and could find little opportunity to study English themselves. What hope is there, then, of finding adequately educated personnel to hire as bilingual instructors and tutors? Also, given that budgets are already overextended in most school districts, how can planners expect there to be resources for training and implementing bilingual education programs?

There is little question that native language instruction offers valuable benefits to communities that can supply and support it. Indeed, Clark, in Paragould, understood (without seeing research or viewing the literature) the value to self-esteem that native language instruction offered, both to the language minority students and the Anglo children as well. However, when the Hispanic community consists of one family, what is the likelihood of maintaining their culture? Jones, too, understood the need to affirm cultural values in her students, but with several languages represented among only 100 students, the priority became quick integration into "middle America."

The question then is still "what is the value of language maintenance in a setting such as the one described above?"

Conclusion

Maintenance may not be a practical alternative in Arkansas. The state lacks funding resources at the state level and lacks educators who are trained in adequate means of identifying, testing and teaching language minority children. The State Department of Education does not have adequate, trained personnel to support a maintenance education program, and the community does not have an adequate professional pool of minority language speakers from which to draw support.

The federal government could mandate maintenance as a goal. With the federal government's posture toward bilingual education, that does not appear likely. Even if the government did take that stance, Arkansas' decentralized process would inhibit systematic implementation. State history towards Federal pressure also throws doubt on the success of such a mandate. The state resisted desegregation in the fifties and sixties until it received a final, authoritative order. When it did integrate public schools, in those parts of the state most affected, segregation gradually reappeared through white flight and the institution of private schools.

Arkansas is a state with limited financial resources. Historically, it has had some of the poorest paid teachers in the US. Again, historically students in the state have scored low on nationwide tests. Already burdened schools would probably view creative programming for a few immigrant children as attending to "brush fires" or as neglect of the many for the benefit of the few.[9]

Kalantzis, Cope and Slade (1989) believe language maintenance is not a value in itself. Others like Wong Fillmore and Valadez (1986) and Holm and Holm (1990) argue that it must be a priority. While BE is very possibly the ideal, when viewed in an urban context, or a context with the resources for incorporating language minority students, it may not be so in insular rural settings for whom diversity is a novelty. Dr. Jones and the actors in Arkansas seem to hold culture/language maintenance as worthwhile, but indicate that they view it as a luxury that they can not afford. Both Jones and Clark were concerned about the community and student acceptance of these children. That, of course, is of concern in any environment. Educators and enlightened planners know that discrimination does not disappear because minority communities get larger. Still, there is the proverb about "safety in numbers." In communities where there is no minority culture to turn to, assimilation may be the expedient answer. Assimilation is certainly the goal in the minds of the actors in the Arkansas situation. According to Fishman (1969), "Our need.both for practical and for academic purposes, is to know the processes and the circumstances through which human decisions influence their adoption, cultivation, displacement and replacement (of national languages or the LWC)" (1969:124). The need in Arkansas and places like it is certainly "to know the processes and circumstances" necessary for better language planning and, consequently, better education of language minority children.

This study has raised more questions than it has answered. Some questions for continued study and consideration are:

1) To what extent can minority language/culture be expected to be maintained in any majority culture?

2) If a level of maintenance is to be desired, whose responsibility is it to maintain it?

3) What role do schools play in that, especially if there is no sizable population extant?

4) What role should the minority cultures play in language planning?

5) Can culture/language be maintained when there is no corresponding minority society to maintain it within?

6) How realistic a hope is maintenance when there are few economic and social incentives?

7) At what level of (percentage?)/or representation of the population does maintenance become an option?

For language planners who believe that maintenance is valuable for minority language children, there are some serious issues to be considered. If maintenance and native language instruction are not realistic possibilities, teachers must then find ways to integrate students into mainstream culture humanely. They must educate the students in the language of school in such a way that they do not become isolated from their own cultural identity. Research is needed to describe and assess the possibility for other types of treatment for language minorities in these situations. Especially needed are ethnographic long term studies of Arkansas students and students in rural and/or isolated settings to describe what the school experiences of language minority students actually are. Another equally important consideration is how to prepare these rural schools and other agencies involved to be able some day to offer native language instruction. Perhaps maintenance as right can be viewed as a long-term goal of planners in Arkansas. Maybe in Arkansas, language maintenance is simply an idea whose time has not yet come.

---

[1] I am using the term language minority populations. I do not like the term as itdefines the population in respect to the majority population; however, other terms are more objectionable. When reporting conversations with others, I will follow informants' usage.

[2] "Maintenance," "native language instruction" (NLI), and "bilingual education" obviously do not all mean the same thing. For the purpose of this paper, I see NLI and BE as parts of maintenance and, therefore, the terms will sometimes be used interchangeably.

[3] However, the SDE has received a Title VII SEA grant and will be conducting a statewide count in the near future (follow-up correspondence with Grier, 12/11/92).

[4] One informant said they do about seven hours of training. "As you probably know, that's not very much."

[5] In fact, because of their experience, Nguyen told me Fort Smith staff had been useful in training in other places in the state.

[6] Springdale did not receive their grant; the other Arkansas applicant was also turned down. Possible reasons for this may be politics and/or lack of networking in grant writing. Both schools were surprised and disappointed.

[7] Jones said, "Counselors tend to tune in well".

[8] The only possible exception is the Paragould case and there Clark seemed to still be considering how to acculturate quickly, albeit humanely. He may somehow be the exception that proves the rule of "diversity" in decentralized language planning.

[9] In fact, that complaint has been lodged even in an urban area when one group was singled out through civil legislation for special services andother also needy group were not recipients (Skilton, 1992).

References

Committee favors language proposal. (1987, January 17). *Arkansas Gazette*.

Downing, B. (1984). The Hmong Resettlement. Office of Refugee Resettlement.

Fishman, J. (1969). National languages and languages of wider communication in the developing nations. *Anthropological Linguistics*. *11* (4):111-135.

Fishman, J. (1979). Bilingual education, language planning and English. *English Worldwide 1* (1):11-24.

Grey, M. A. (1991, Fall). The context for marginal secondary ESL programs: Contributing factors and the need for further research. *The Journal of Educational Issues of Language Minority Students*. Vol. 9, 75-86.

Grier, S. (1992, December 12). State Department of Education, Little Rock, Arkansas. Follow-up correspondence.

Holm, A. & Holm, W. (1990, March). Rock Point, a Navajo way to go to school: a valediction. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. (English Plus: Issues in Bilingual Education)*, pp. 170- 184.

House approves bill limiting access to state employee personnel records. (1987, February 5,). *Arkansas Gazette*

Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission. Interim report of the lower Mississippi Delta development commission. (1989, March 16).

Ivers, D. (1987, February 14). It's official: Only English spoken here. *Arkansas Democrat*. 6D.

Kalantzis, M., Cope, B. & Slade, D. (1989). *Minority languages and dominant culture: Issues of education, assessment, and social equity*. London: The Falmer Press.

Morison, S. (1990, March). A Spanish-English dual-language program in New York City. (The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science). *English Plus: issues in Bilingual Education* (pp. 160-169).

Official English garners 79 sponsors. (1987, January 22). *Arkansas Democrat,* p. 6F.

Official language. (1987, January 23). *Arkansas Gazette.*

Paragould students swap lingual aptitudes. (1985, October 7). *Arkansas Democrat.*

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal. 8* (2):15-34.

Skilton, E. (1992, April). Acquisition policy planning and litigation: Language planning in the context of Y.S. v. the school district of Philadelphia. Paper presented in ED 927. University of Pennsylvania [published in *WPEL: Working Papers in Educatonal Linguistics*].

Stone, H. (1992, March). Korean maintenance language planning: An English Only environment. Paper presented in ED 927, University of Pennsylvania.

Tollefson, J. W. (1991). *Planning language, planning inequality: language policy in the community.* New York: Longman.

Tollefson, J. W. (1981). Centralized and decentralized language planning. *Language Problems and Language Planning, 5* (2):175-188.

Wong Fillmore, L & Valadez, C. (1986) Teaching bilingual learners. In M. Wittrock (Ed.), *Handbook of research on teaching*, (3rd ed.), (pp. 648-685). New York: MacMillan.

Foreign language teaching at the University of Pennsylvania: A language planning case study

Kristin I. Loheyde
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

Is the University of Pennsylvania an example of successful foreign language planning? This paper addresses this question using J. Fishman's language planning framework to analyze various foreign language opportunities at the University. The Romance Language Department, the Penn Language Center, the Office of International Programs and other foreign language opportunities at the University are described and analyzed. This analysis reveals the strengths and weaknesses of the University's attempts to "internationalize." Further suggestions to reach this goal are given.

Introduction

Many countries worldwide view multilingualism as an opportunity to increase one's knowledge, to better one's understanding of international and national diversity, and to expand economic, social, and political spheres. These countries treat bilingualism as a "national resource to be cherished, nourished and sustained" (Tucker, 1986:361). Multilingualism is characteristic of these countries and has become a way of life. It is therefore ironic that the highly-diversified, multicultural United States persists on treating multilingualism as a deficiency as opposed to other countries where monolingualism is a sign of a lack of education (Blanco, 1978:499).

The United States needs to create a new image of multilingualism and multiculturalism and to identify the means to promote languages as resources. Institutions of higher education should increase the emphasis of foreign language instruction to produce a new generation of proficient speakers of second languages. Foreign language is a resource that these institutions should capitalize on to help change American attitudes and to keep the United States competitive with other developed countries. This would not only enrich the lives of our citizens but would place the United States equal to other countries that encourage multilingualism as a national resource.

In his discussion of orientations towards language, Ruiz suggests that there are three orientations towards language planning:

1. Language-as-problem: Linguistic minorities must overcome the language obstacle in order to mainstream into the majority culture. This is the most prevalent attitude in American society today.
2. Language-as-right: Linguistic minorities have human and civil rights to maintain their mother-tongue.
3. Language-as-resource: The nation as a whole would benefit from the conservation and development of its linguistic resources (1984).

Ruiz proposes the third orientation, language-as-resource, as "vital to the interest of language planning in the United States" (15). It is with this in mind I would like to suggest that it is high time American institutions of higher education take on the responsibility of extensive foreign language instruction and requirements.

The purpose of the present study is to examine the University of Pennsylvania (Penn) and its international programs as an example of foreign language use at the undergraduate level. Research questions addressed are:

1) Can Penn's network of international programs be considered an example of language planning?

2) If so, is it effective language planning?

3) What could and what should Penn be doing to increase effectiveness of its planning with a language-as-resource orientation?

Background information about language planning will be given first. Then, a case study of foreign language use at Penn will be presented. Finally, Fishman's theoretical framework of language planning will be used to evaluate this case study.

Review of Relevant Research

Language Planning Definitions

Language planning is the "exercise of judgement in the form of choices among available forms" and the "evaluation of linguistic change" according to Haugen (1966:52), one of the first to consider language planning systematically. This preliminary definition focuses on what is now identified as the corpus, or language structure, portion of language planning. Planning types have been expanded to include the status, or use, of language. Linguists have been attempting to specify a precise model to lead to a constructive theory of language planning. A sampling of language planning definitions in the last twenty years includes:

> "the management of linguistic innovation" (Karam, 1974:118);
>
> identifying a problem and trying to find the "best (or optimal, most efficient, most valuable) alternative to solve a problem" (Rubin, 1977:282);
>
> applying to a "wide range of processes involving planned change in the structure and status of language varieties" (Tollefson, 1981:175);
>
> the "field of study to which matters of language policy relate" and can change language function and structure (Corson, 1990:13).

Fishman defines language planning as the "authoritative allocation of resources to language" (1979:11). This definition does not focus on language planning to solve problems. It is most appropriate to the Penn case study because it involves the "assignment of funds, manpower, sanctions and concern to language use and/or language structure" (11) as is true with foreign language instruction.

Language Planning Frameworks

Several frameworks have been suggested for the process of language planning. Haugen was one of the first to isolate the relevant issues of language planning. He suggests that the processes involve selection, codification, acceptance, and elaboration (1972:97). The framework Karam (1974) proposes involves planning (data collection, feasibility, decision-making), plan writing, implementation (identification, codification, dissemination), and evaluation (monitoring, assessing). Rubin's four language planning steps are: fact-finding; establishing goals, strategies, and outcomes; implementation; and, feedback (1977:284).

Although any of these models are suitable, Fishman's framework is the most relevant to the case study of Penn's international programs because of his stress on the cyclical nature of language planning (LP) and the tendency away from LP as a problem. He also proposes a series of stages (cycles) necessary for successful language planning: decision-making, codification, elaboration, implementation, evaluation and iteration or cultivation (1979). Although Fishman focuses on status and corpus planning, his framework can be implemented to judge whether Penn, as a representative of institutions of higher education, can be defined as an example of language planning at the acquisition cultivation level (Hornberger, 1992). Hornberger's integrative model for types and approaches to language planning clearly demonstrates this (Table 1).

Table 1:
Integrative Model for Types and Approaches to Language Planning

APPROACHES	POLICY PLANNING (on form)	CULTIVATION PLANNING (on function)
Types	Goals	Goals
STATUS PLANNING (about uses)	Officialization Nationalization Standardization status Proscription	Revival Maintenance Spread Interlingual Communication
ACQUISITION PLANNING (about users)	Education/School Literary Religious Mass Media Work	Reacquisition Maintenance Shift Foreign/Second Language Literacy
CORPUS PLANNING (about language)	Standardization corpus auxiliary code Graphization	Modernization lexical stylistic Renovation purification Reform, etc.

(Hornberger, 1992)

As shown above, foreign language focuses on the users of language (here, undergraduate students) and how they access foreign languages.

Foreign Language in Higher Education

Language maintenance is rarely recognized in the United States as compatible with the public interest; rather, it is often seen to be a burden which hinders "progress, modernity, and efficiency" (Fishman, 1982:522). However, in this modern society, mass communication, efficient means of travel, and international interdependence have created a smaller global environment by shortening the distance between countries. Knowledge of a second language is beneficial to understanding the effects of global interaction. It is also beneficial to one's personal growth: trying to understand another language and culture leads to a better understanding of one's own language and culture. As Fishman points out, elites for hundreds of years have known that multilingualism provides "greater opportunities, greater insight, deeper appreciation, greater sensitivity..." for the speaker (1981:525).

Since the passage of the National Educational Act in 1958, there has been increasing awareness of the importance of foreign language proficiency. However, as Arendt points out, foreign language learning is not part of the American environment, nor of its tradition, as it is in Europe (1973:198). This leads to difficulty in developing a positive attitude toward valuing second language proficiency. Since Americans do not regard foreign languages as important, the significance of long-range planning of cultural diversity and skills is pushed aside (Fixman, 1989:2). This is demonstrated by the relatively small number of Americans who study and/or are considered to be proficient in a second language (Lambert, 1990:7).

Rubin suggests that foreign language requirements at universities do not constitute planning, but are merely examples of setting policy (1977:286). The students' needs for a foreign language are not identified nor are the skills necessary for language addressed. Lambert agrees with this and suggests a national strategy towards a use-oriented typology of foreign language instruction instead of the predominant cultural-awareness orientation (1989:6).

University of Pennsylvania Case Study

Given the prevailing attitudes and practices in the United States, what in fact is going on in institutions of higher education? In this section, the processes affecting foreign language learning at the undergraduate level at Penn are analyzed.

Penn has a stated goal of accomplishing greater internationalization. My purpose is to examine what is presently being done at Penn to accomplish its stated goal and to determine Penn's philosophy regarding foreign languages. I will not survey all foreign language opportunities at Penn. Instead, I will discuss selected programs associated with foreign languages which are crucial to understanding Penn's activities. My focus is on foreign language requirements for undergraduates, the Penn Language Center, the study abroad program, and the Romance Language Department.

Goals

In the most recent Annual Report, 1990-1991, the internationalization of Penn was identified as one of the university's academic goals (University of Pennsylvania, 1991:17). However, foreign language proficiency is not necessary for admission and the career center does not focus on foreign language proficiency for employment. The Provost, although having strong personal goals of second language proficiency, does not see a unified philosophy towards foreign languages at Penn. As he expressed, the individual centers and departments have explicit goals which cannot reflect a single "University of Pennsylvania Philosophy."

Colleges

Each of the four undergraduate colleges are independently responsible for designating graduation requirements. Goals with respect to foreign language learning vary within the four schools. The School of Arts and Sciences (SAS) aims for a predetermined proficiency level for all its graduates. The School of Nursing and the Wharton School have set a competency-based requirement for their graduates. As of yet, the School of Engineering and Applied Science does not have a foreign language competency requirement for graduation, although individual departments within the school do.

Penn Language Center

The Penn Language Center (PLC) was established in the fall of 1989 with the objective to offer less-commonly taught foreign languages as well as content-based classes in the more commonly taught languages. In a constantly changing world, the PLC sees itself as being responsible for supporting understanding of other cultures. Its primary goal is to better language opportunities at Penn without exhausting the University's funds.

Office of International Programs

The Office of International Programs (OIP) coordinates the various international programs on campus and organizes the study-abroad programs. One of the staff members suggested that the overall goal of OIP is to "get people hooked on language" whether overseas or not. The goals relating to studying abroad are to increase the number of undergraduates taking advantage of the overseas immersion opportunities as well as to provide even more programs abroad. Key to these goals is convincing students and their parents that studying abroad is an invaluable educational opportunity, making it financially less difficult, and making the program timing more flexible.

Foreign language departments

The goal of the foreign language departments at Penn is to stress the importance of foreign language study for everyone in order to communicate with others of different linguistic backgrounds. To do this, the departments stress not just the language, but also the psychological and cultural aspects of the foreign language. Ideally, the departments would like to see all of their students, as well as those in schools outside of SAS, studying overseas. In addition, the Romance Language Department has begun an aggressive campaign to recruit scholars (graduate students) in order to become the best in the country in their respective languages.

Strategies

Proficiency tests

As of April, 1992, three of the four colleges have foreign language requirements. SAS continues its forty-plus year history of a second language requirement for graduation. More recently the Wharton faculty members recommended and approved a rigorous new curriculum which included a foreign language requirement to start in 1992 (Libby, 1990:1). Both Wharton and SAS require three to four semesters of a language. The goal is to have students in both schools attain a designated proficiency at the intermediate mid-level on ACTFL examinations.

The ACTFL-based testing involves evaluating students' proficiency levels before assigning them course credit. This was initiated approximately ten years ago when a study at Penn revealed that fourth semester language students were passing their foreign language requirements with a proficiency level significantly lower than that of the incoming freshmen who were exempt from foreign language study.

(Students are exempt if they achieve a score of 650 or above on language achievement tests.)

With the realization that "seat-time" did not correlate with foreign language proficiency, various members of the Penn community sought to develop tests to ensure adequate language skills. Dr. Roger Allen, former dean of the College of General Studies and presently a professor of Arabic, was instrumental in organizing a method of evaluating language skills. The strategy is to use open-ended, interpretative, oral, and written tests (with authentic tasks) which would be nationally recognized.

The test is taken at the end of the fourth semester or, in some cases, the third semester. The generic ACTFL-based guidelines can be used for any language, while there are language-specific guidelines currently established for French, German, English as a Second Language, Spanish, Italian, Japanese, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi, Portuguese, Russian, and, most recently, Korean. It is composed of five sections: achievement, reading comprehension, composition, listening comprehension, and an oral interview. Although the test is graded pass/fail and will not negatively affect the final grade, it is necessary to pass the test to obtain a grade for the fourth semester course. Students are thought to be motivated in their language studies by the prospective proficiency test.

Members of the faculty are responsible for testing the students. The reading and writing sections take two hours. The listening comprehension is a half-hour taped test. The 15 minute interactive interview is done with one interviewer, preferably not the student's present instructor.

Presently students of the School of Nursing do not participate in the proficiency tests. The School has required competency in a foreign language since 1989; two semesters of study fulfill this requirement. Although the School of Engineering and Applied Science does not have a foreign language requirement, the Computer and Information Science Department does aim for foreign language competency by graduation. These students do not participate in the proficiency tests either.

PLC: Less-commonly taught languages and content-based instruction

The PLC has ambitiously outlined several strategies for achieving its goal of enriching the University's resources in basic language instruction. Primarily, it has hired graduate students as teaching assistants who are native-speakers of the languages unavailable in the School of Arts and Sciences (SAS). This has limited the cost of hiring full-time faculty, as in SAS.

PLC also has an unusual autonomy, reporting only to the Associate Dean of Humanities in the College of General Studies. Its relative independence allows courses to be offered to students outside the University. In this way, the PLC actually makes money to help cover the expense of a course.

To maintain cost-effectiveness, the PLC focuses on the beginning levels of less commonly taught languages. Its strategy of limiting the depth of the curriculum has allowed for greater breadth.

The number of students who participate in Penn Language Center courses reveals the need for such centers in higher education. In fact, such large class numbers suggest more instructors are already desperately needed in certain languages. The fact that 40% of the enrolled students are from outside the School of Arts and Sciences (Lenker, 1991) proves that students are beginning to be aware of language opportunities and taking advantage of them.

OIP: Study abroad programs

Recent strategies include the organization of a task force to identify how to increase availability of programs offered by the Office of International Programs. This group, which is chaired by the Provost, has representatives from SAS, Nursing, Wharton, and Engineering.

Students from all the undergraduate schools are encouraged to spend a summer, a semester, or a year on one of the Penn-sponsored study abroad programs or on any one of a number of other college-sponsored programs. The overseas programs attempt to focus more on functional language use and less on literature. This is made easier by the 24-hour presence of the target language in the setting. Internships are recommended to get students to use the language outside of the classroom.

Campus wide

Resources exist at Penn to promote language use on campus. Penn as a whole focuses on strategies to make languages a part of a student's life outside the classroom. For example, 32 buildings are connected to a global satellite which allows for television broadcasts in French, Spanish, Italian, and Russian. Van Pelt Library offers books and periodicals in foreign languages. Within the next few years, every dorm room will be hooked to foreign language TV stations.

Grants are made available through the International Programs Fund. This is to provide financial support for "initiatives in area and international studies to help the

University of Pennsylvania maintain existing strength and foster innovations in international education" ("International Programs," 1989). Short-term projects are strengthened by awards of $1000-$2500.

The Office of College House Programs offers opportunities for motivated students to live in the Modern Language College House ("Faculty Master," 1989). This is one of six college houses which has a resident Faculty Master, seven graduate fellows, and 85 undergraduates. The community has dining facilities as well as educational and social activities to maintain language skills.

Outcomes

After identifying the goals and the strategies to implement those goals, it is important to look at what the actual outcomes are at the various centers dedicated to foreign languages.

Colleges: Proficiency tests

Penn was the first American university to develop proficiency testing. It has become a national prototype as hoped and is seen as a valuable and practical asset to Penn's undergraduate curriculum.

Currently there are approximately 500 students in the Romance Language Department who take the proficiency test each semester. It roughly breaks down to 260 Spanish, 225 French, and 15-20 Italian tests given. As it is now, no professors take the proficiency exam; however, some of the teaching assistants and instructors have taken it.

Most of the 500 students pass the proficiency tests. An estimate of 30 students each semester do not pass. They are then notified what part(s) they failed and given specific instruction to improve in that area in order to retake it.

It is ironic that this proficiency-based test offers the possibility of exemption specifically from the proficiency sections. If students score equal to or greater than 650 on the achievement section (which is comparable to the ETS achievement examination), there is no need to continue on to the proficiency-based sections of the test. More than half of the students score greater than 650; therefore, the majority of students are still evaluated on an achievement, not a proficiency, test.

Overall, the proficiency tests at Penn reflect the need for a common yardstick to measure foreign language skills at the undergraduate level. As Lowe (1985) points out, the development of proficiency tests, among other things, helps to set realistic goals for foreign language teaching. By aiming for the intermediate mid-level, Penn hopes for the students to have the "ability to survive for 1-2 days in a foreign country."

Penn Language Center

If the United States is to "prepare realistically for the next century, [it] must diversify [its] language offerings" (Lambert 1989:7). The University was among one of the first in the United States to offer "exotic" languages as exemplified by its Arabic and Hebrew courses offered as early as 1782 (Spooner, 1990). Currently, out of the 100 different foreign language courses offered at the University, the PLC is responsible for almost half including Amharic, Arabic, Bengali, Cantonese, Ewe, Georgian, Greek,Gujarati, Hausa, Irish Gaelic, Khotanese, Korean, Mandarin, Marathi, Panjabi, Pennsylvania German, Persian, Polish, Portuguese, Swahili, Tibetan, Turkish, Vietnamese, Wolof, Yiddish, Yoruba, and Zulu.

Language courses at the PLC are available to fill gaps in the regular language departments. For example, Portuguese is offered only at PLC, as are any business-related language classes. These courses can be used for general requirements as well as major requirements, but the course offerings are limited.

In the spring of 1991, the PLC's fourth semester in existence, 373 students were enrolled in its courses, marking a 43% increase from the previous fall semester (Lenker, 1991). Of those students 98 enrolled in business-related courses in Dutch, German, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, French, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Russian. French and Japanese are presently the most popular, each with an average of 30 students per semester.

The PLC has been able to strengthen itself by reacting rapidly to global political changes. For example, with the advent of *glasnost* and the increased interest in Russian studies, the Center responded by offering languages of Eastern Europe. Beginning September, 1991, courses have been available in Czech, Hungarian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, Serbo-Croatian, Slovak, and Ukrainian ("PLC Responds," 1990).

Study abroad programs

Although the Office of International Programs has the ambitious goal of recruiting 35% of Penn's students to spend time overseas, approximately 7% use this opportunity. The record number of students was 374 in the 1989-90 academic year. This number dropped significantly to just over 300 in the 1990-91 academic year.

Given the number of impediments students encounter the low number is not surprising.

Penn-sponsored programs exist in 18 locations in England, Scotland, France, China, Japan, Germany, Italy, Nigeria, Spain, and the former Soviet Union. Nine of the recently established or developing programs involve some of the above countries as well as the former Czechoslovakia, Korea, Mexico, and Turkey. Credits are accepted from these programs although grades are not. Neither credits nor grades are transferable from non-Penn sponsored programs, in which more than half of the study-abroad students participate.

While Penn-sponsored programs do accept credits, often the courses on overseas programs are not applicable to the student's major. This seems to be because of an emphasis on literature with some history and civilization courses available, despite OIP's promotion as otherwise. Students of high proficiency can seek other courses offered at foreign universities; however, it appears that few do so, opting to remain in the American-sponsored programs. The lack of non-literary possibilities increases the difficulty for non-language majors contemplating studying abroad. Even among the language majors, an entire year abroad is relatively uncommon. A recent revision of general undergraduate requirements is perceived by the OIP staff to increase the difficulty of students going abroad.

Internships are highly encouraged while abroad, but so far Penn has not helped organize these opportunities. Even to those students who are able to find an internship, credit is not rewarded. The OIP staff links the lack of participation in internships to a lack of student motivation, rather than student familiarity (or lack thereof) with the foreign country.

Of great concern to prospective participants as well as to the University itself is the issue of financial costs of study-abroad programs. As it is now, a year of study-abroad costs more than staying at the Philadelphia campus, discouraging many students from overseas study. Federal financial aid funds can be used on both Penn and non-Penn sponsored programs; however, Penn grants are able to be used solely on its sponsored programs. Since Penn does not have any of its own island centers with Penn staff, 80% of a student's tuition for study programs goes to the host school (i.e., NYU, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, etc.). On non-Penn sponsored programs, the University loses the student's entire tuition for the semester(s) abroad.

Romance Language Department

There are approximately 2000 students enrolled in Romance Languages each semester, 800 each in French and Spanish and 400 in Italian. Among the juniors and seniors, there are 27 French majors, 13 Spanish majors, and 4 Italian majors. For a university committed to internationalization, this is a minuscule number of language majors. Many of these include double-majors. There are numerous language minors although the number is unclear; very little attention is given to these students (in terms of planning). Incoming freshmen who score greater than 650 on the high school achievement tests are exempt from further language study.

There is an increased effort to broaden the scope of romance languages offered at Penn. For example, the French Department is trying to incorporate into the curriculum French traditions in Canada, Belgium, Switzerland, etc. However, the course selection clearly marks an emphasis on traditions from France.

Although studying abroad is considered to be indispensable, especially for foreign language majors, there is presently no required overseas experience. Most majors go abroad for at least a summer, but the previously outlined obstacles limit the number of students who go for a greater length of time.

Case Study Conclusion

Despite the above seemingly committed strategies and achieved outcomes, there is still evidence of a hesitancy towards a fully recognized dedication to foreign language teaching. For example, in 1989, Dr. Aiken (the Provost) proposed requiring students to have foreign language ability before entering the School of Arts and Sciences (Westwater, 1989). Although professors in the Romance Language Department regret the need to do "remedial" skills which should have been learned in high school, there remains a reluctance to follow the Provost's suggestion and take the initiative among American private universities to require a certain level of proficiency for matriculation.

There is limited interaction between the various language centers and other parts of the University. This may be due in part to the present structure of Penn. "[E]ach school is responsible for its own income and expenditure, and is therefore in competition for available funds [since the] number of classes students take in a certain school determines the allocation of money" (Cort, 1992). Thus, whenever students enroll in classes outside the school in which they are matriculating, their own school loses the funds.

The international program at Penn is ambitious in promoting foreign language proficiency and is considered to be one of the best programs of its type in the country. There is, however, the capacity for better integration of foreign languages with other areas of study at the University. In the words of Romance Language Professor and former Dean Stephen Nichols, "there is a lack of overall coordination" (Westwater, 1989).

In order to better understand the strengths and weaknesses in Penn's foreign language programs, it is helpful to evaluate them using the LP definitions and frameworks previously mentioned.

Review and Evaluation

Rubin asks, "Why do we do planning?" (cited in Thompson, 1973:230). She points out that successful planning is accomplished in American businesses and industries, but not well understood in education. Foreign language planning is situated in an acquisition cultivation planning model (Hornberger, 1992), as opposed to one of status or corpus. Rubin astutely points out that "much information is collected while it is not clear how it will be used in a coordinated way" (cited in Thompson, 1973). By placing Penn's goals, strategies and outcomes within a language planning framework, such as Fishman's (1979), we can better assess whether the University is involved in language planning and evaluate whether it is effective language planning.

Decision-making

Decision-making is the initiating process in Fishman's language planning framework. This involves clarifying issues and alternatives via negotiating and compromising (1979:13). For an acquisition cultivation planning type the users of foreign languages are addressed (Hornberger, 1992). At Penn, these are the undergraduate students.

Recently Penn has involved several task forces and working groups in analyzing how to better prepare University students for a new international role. These committees have clarified the international dimensions present at Penn, but there does not seem to be any negotiating, assessing the needs of students, or identifying "what are the different clienteles and how to plan for them" (Lambert as quoted in Thompson, 1973:228). General goals have been established but whether "consequences have been weighed" or "doubts confirmed or disconfirmed" is not evident.

My concern is the lack of overall student participation and of consideration for the financial aspects. These are essential for making the goals a reality. To truly be effective language planning, these components must be addressed.

Codification

Fishman identifies the codification process of language planning as a somewhat idyllic formal statement of the "purposes, procedures, and resources" outlined in the decision-making process (1979:14). Within the acquisition cultivation planning type, this signifies declaring the functional role of foreign languages within the community-in this case, the Penn undergraduates.

Penn has documented several guidelines for the internationalization of the University. Most notable is the final report of the working groups in "Planning for the Twenty-First Century" ("Planning for the 21st," 1989) and the resulting Five-Year Academic Plan from the President and the Provost ("Planning for the '90s," 1991). The international mission statement at Penn is:

> The University of Pennsylvania affirms its international commitment–in its people, its pursuits, and its programs. It seeks three main goals: The preparation of its students and faculty to be members of a more cohesive world; the generation of knowledge on a more global orientation; and provision of its academic resources, to the extent feasible, to nations and to institutions involved in international activities. Recognizing that it both gives and receives resources through its international activities, the University seeks to achieve and to maintain a role of leadership in the international sphere... (University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

These documents do discuss purposes and the proposed strategies, but resources identified are possibilities, not necessarily certainties. Most importantly, the functional role of foreign languages at Penn is not identified. Overall, however, this stage can be considered relatively effective language planning.

Elaboration

This part of the language planning process is where priorities and deadlines are established. The Five Year Academic Plan ("Planning for the '90's," 1991) identified the following actions:

1 establishing a Provost's Council of International Programs,

2 encouraging undergraduate schools to strengthen their foreign language requirements and to use foreign languages as an integral part of standard course work,

3 supporting a Penn Language Center,

4 establishing a satellite communication uplink and downlink to provide students with ready access to foreign language broadcasts,

5 facilitating undergraduates' participation in well-designed and properly monitored programs of study abroad,

6 strengthening existing area studies programs and establishing new initiatives in East Asian and African Studies,

7 strengthening Penn's involvement in an international cooperative network of major research universities,

8 increasing support for the University library system's international holdings (University of Pennsylvania, 1992).

This goals document is not specific: it neglects to say how Penn is going to "encourage," "facilitate," or "strengthen" these programs. The University is very weak in this key element of language planning.

Implementation

Fishman identifies this language planning process with realizing the codified goals–in this case, those of acquisition–by efforts to "influence the use of particular languages for a particular purpose and function" (1979:15). This is more difficult to assess at Penn because of the relatively short time since the codification of the goals. But already, Penn has implemented some of its goals, for example establishing the Provost's Council and the satellite communication. It also has helped support the PLC; however, one must note that the idea for such a center had been around for fifteen years before a needs analysis was even implemented. The PLC is still quite young, but I foresee even greater outcomes in the near future.

One characteristic of the foreign language department which seems to be contradictory to the University's second goal of foreign language requirements is the exemption of incoming freshmen based on achievement test scores. As Lambert points out, there is a tendency at the college level to "excuse the student from the necessity of further work" rather than to build on the student's foreign language skills (1989:6). Instead of complete exemption, the University should excuse the preliminary levels and encourage at least two semesters at upper levels.

The proficiency exams are part of an ambitious endeavor to increase undergraduates' foreign language proficiency and that should be what the students are indeed evaluated on. In addition, to further enhance the internationalization Penn strives for, I suggest that the proficiency tests would be valuable for professors outside the foreign language department to take advantage of to improve their own language skills.

In tandem with the proficiency evaluation should be more emphasis on study abroad. Part of the "properly monitored programs of study abroad" should be an adequate method to "relate experience gained abroad to the home campus" (Lager, 1973:214). Once students have returned from their overseas study, there are only token efforts to take advantage of their experience and to increase connections with their on-campus study. Students return to courses not adequately challenging and lacking in number or content. Not only are there not enough high level courses available, students do not have the time to add more foreign language courses to their curriculum. Penn should try to focus on capitalizing on students' experiences and offer more content-based courses in order for the students to resume their new cultural awareness and perspective. Lager (1973) points out that addressing this issue could have positive effects on the entire curriculum and I suggest that students who studied abroad could help organize and run classroom workshops.

My greatest concern involving the foreign language departments at Penn is that the focus is heavily biased towards graduate students. Among undergraduates, the foreign language departments focus only on language majors. These are not the students who need to be convinced that languages are important. A study at the University of Illinois-Urbana demonstrated that only 38% of the students at the 200-level were language majors (Rivers, 1973:86). Although college-level is really too late to be focusing on foreign language proficiency, if Penn wants to be truly committed to its goal of internationalization, more attention should be given to students who are not majors by offering courses tailored to the needs of non-majors. This would involve more content-based courses, for example in science, history, art, etc.

I would like to suggest an added dimension to Penn's implementation process. As Arendt says, the "foreign language profession must work on public relations on the local, state, and national level" (1973:199). Penn should start at the local level. By personal observation, there is a lack of publicity about the various programs, activities, and opportunities offered by the various centers and departments. This is evident in the lack of "noteworthy" news printed in the numerous Penn publications. Penn cannot expect to successfully implement its goals if its community does not perceive the need for such objectives. Nevertheless, in spite of some loopholes, so far Penn has admirably implemented several of its goals.

Evaluation

The purpose of this language planning stage is to provide an "opportunity to determine if the goals...purposes...and intents...are being attained" (Fishman, 1979:17). As far as I can ascertain, there is no means of evaluation for the various strategies outlined by the University. For example, how many languages would be ideal to offer? For how many students? What constitutes a "well-designed study-abroad program"? In what way exactly does Penn want to be more involved in cooperative networks? What kind of support is Penn willing to give the library?

These are the kind of questions for which Penn needs to have specific answers; broad, open-ended goals which cannot be evaluated are not sufficient. It is too early to decide whether the Penn community intends to evaluate its internationalization in a structured fashion; however, there is no evidence to date of a precise outline with which to "grade" its accomplishments. This is a serious shortcoming in the University's internationalization scheme: how will we know if goals are achieved?[1]

Iteration or Cultivation

This is the end and the beginning of the language planning process: the end because it is the final stage, but the beginning of a cyclical process which starts again at the decision-making stage. The planners must remember the conclusions of the evaluation stage and the resulting recommendations. Since there is no evaluation process inherent in the internationalization goal of the University, it is difficult to assert that Penn succeeds at this language planning stage. In all fairness, however, there is a possibility that Penn will cultivate its strategies.

Conclusion

Overall, does the Penn case study demonstrate language planning at Penn? By applying Fishman's language planning framework, it is apparent that the University has addressed a considerable number of goals and strategies. Lowe declares that the goals of the foreign language profession are often so extended that it "should recognize the courage in undertaking so much" (1985:10). Penn can be commended for its ambitious goal of internationalization.

But what exactly does Penn mean by internationalization and how will we know if internationalization has been achieved? Is this goal apparent in all the international programs? Presently, there is a lack of coordination: the lack of widespread cooperation, definitions of goals, and evaluation procedures are serious omissions in a language planning process.

I would like to suggest that institutions of higher education have the responsibility to lead the United States into a new multilingual environment. But inefficiency, ambiguity and failure will result without a clear language planning procedure which takes into account decision-making, codification, elaboration, implementation, evaluation, and iteration or cultivation. To quote Rubin (cited in Thompson, 1973:230), "if we are clear on our goals, then we can begin to specify alternative strategies to reach [them] and to begin to efficiently plan foreign language learning" and, I add, not before then will we realize a multilingual America essential to an ever-shrinking global environment.

---

[1] One possible way to evaluate the internationalization scheme would be to follow a score sheet such as Ockerman's Score Sheet for Measuring the Degree of Internationalization of a University or of a University Professor," found in *The Medallion,* 5(1):8-9.

References

Arendt, J. D. (1973). Motivation, course type, and career objectives. In K. R. Jankowsky (Ed.), *Language and International Studies* (24th Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1973) (pp. 198-201). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Blanco, G. M. (1978). The implementation of bilingual/bicultural education programs in the United States. In B. Spolsky & R. L. Cooper (Eds.), *Case studies in bilingual education* (pp. 454-499). Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Corson, D. (1990). *Language policy across the curriculum*. Clevedon, England: Multilingual Matters.

Cort, R. (1992, April 6). One University? *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, pp. 3-4.

Faculty master search. (1989, January 24). *The Almanac*, p.3.

Fishman, J. (1979). Bilingual education, language planning and English. *English World-Wide 1*(1), 11-24.

Fishman, J. (1981). Language policy: Past, present and future. In C. A. Ferguson & S. Brice Heath (Eds.), *Languages in the USA* (pp. 516-526). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Fishman, J. (1982). Sociolinguistic foundations of bilingual education. *Bilingual Review/La Revista Bilingue, 9*(1), 1-35.

Fixman, C. (1989, May). The foreign language needs of US-based corporations. *Occasional Papers of the NFLC*. Washington, DC: The National Foreign Language Center.

Haugen, E. (1966). Linguistics and language planning. In W. Bright (Ed.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 50-71).

Haugen, E. (1972) Dialect, language, nation. In J. B. Pride & J. Holmes (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics* (pp. 97-111).

Hornberger, N. (1992, Spring) Language Planning and Education Graduate Seminar. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

International Programs Fund. (1989, December 12). *The Almanac*, p.7.

Karam, F. X. (1974) Towards a definition of language planning. In J. Fishman (Ed.), *Advances in language planning* (pp. 103-124). Mouton.

Lager, R. (1973). Study programs abroad. In K. R. Jankowsky (Ed.), *Language and International Studies* (24th Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1973) (pp. 212-216). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Lambert, R. D. (1989). The national foreign language system. *Occasional Papers of the NFLC*. Washington, DC: National Foreign Language Center.

Lambert, R. D. (1990). Language policy: An international perspective. *Occasional Papers of the NFLC*. Washington, DC: The National Foreign Language Center.

Lenker, M. (1991, Spring). PLC statistics. *Penn Language News*, p.2.

Libby, A. (1990, April 17). Wharton to enact foreign language requirement in '91. *The Daily Pennsylvanian,* pp. 1,7.

Lowe, P., Jr. (1985). The ILR proficiency scale synthesizing research principle: The view from the mountain. In C. J. James (Ed.), *Foreign language proficiency in the classroom and beyond* (pp. 9-54). Chicago: National Textbook Company.

Ockerman's score sheet for measuring the degree of internationalization of a university or of a university professor. (1992, Winter). *The Medallion, 5*(1):8-9

Planning for the '90s: Five-year academic plan for the University of Pennsylvania. (1991, January 22). *The Almanac,* pp. i-viii.

Planning for the 21st century: Final reports of the ten working groups. (1989, December 5). *The Almanac*, pp. i-xvi.

PLC responds to *glasnost*. (1990, July 19). *The Compass*, p. 5.

Rivers, W. (1973). The Non-major: Tailoring the course to fit the person–not the image. In K. R. Jankowsky (Ed.), *Language and International Studies* (24th Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1973) (pp.85-97). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Rubin, J. (1977). Bilingual education and language planning. In B. Spolsky & Robert L. Cooper (Eds.), *Frontiers of bilingual education* (pp. 282-294). Rowley, MA: Newbury House Publishers.

Ruiz, R. (1984). Orientations in language planning. *NABE Journal, 8*(2), 15-34.

Spooner, B. (1990, Spring). History of language study at Penn. *Penn Language News*, pp. 1-2.

Thompson, R. (1973). Language resources and the national interest. In K. R. Jankowsky (Ed.), *Language and International Studies* (24th Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics, 1973) (pp. 225-231). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Tollefson, J. W. (1981). Centralized and decentralized language planning. *Language problems and language planning, 5*(2), 175-188.

Tucker, G. R. (1986) Implications of Canadian research for promoting a language competent American society. Offprint from J. A. Fishman, A. Tabouret-Keller, M. Clyne, B. Krishnamurti & M. Abdulaziz, (Eds.), *The Fergusonian impact: In honor of Charles A. Ferguson on the occasion of his 65th birthday* (pp. 361-369). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

University of Pennsylvania. (1991, June). *Annual report 1990-1991*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

University of Pennsylvania. (1992). *Factbook about the international programs at the University of Pennsylvania.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.

Westwater, L. (1989, November 14). Report calls for foreign language proficiency before matriculation. *The Daily Pennsylvanian*, p. 1.

Story, voice, and culture: The politics of narrative in multicultural education

Cathy Luna
University of Pennsylvania
Graduate School of Education

This paper explores the role of personal narrative in an education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist. I begin by discussing the relationship between student voice, storytelling, and the transmission of culture. Next, I examine studies that look at the way students' narratives are currently received in the classroom, exploring the implications of their reception in terms of the politics of culture in the classroom and beyond. Finally, I imagine a possible world, exploring the potential of multicultural education to nurture students' voices and the potential of students' stories to transform society.

> As chroniclers of our own stories, we write to create ourselves, to give voice to our experiences, to learn who we are and who we have been....These stories, these myriad voices, then serve to instruct and transform society (Cooper, 1991:111).

What is the place of personal narrative in an education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist? Can stories really help to transform society? Much has been written recently about the potential of storytelling as a way for students to develop their voices, locate themselves in their cultures, critique the current social order, and, informed by a sense of connectedness to others, responsibly imagine *possible worlds* (Noddings, 1984; Belenky, Clinch, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986; Bruner, 1986; Lee, 1991). Before we can evaluate the power of stories in multicultural classrooms, however, we need to understand their role in the discourse politics that shape power relations within the classroom and within society. In this paper, I will begin by discussing the relationship between student voice, storytelling, and the transmission of culture. Next, I will examine studies that look at the way students' narratives are currently received in the classroom, exploring the implications of their reception in terms of the politics of culture in the classroom and beyond. Finally, I will imagine a possible world, exploring the potential of multicultural education to nurture students' voices and the potential of students' stories to transform society.

Voice and the Cultural Politics of Discourse

The notion of student "voice" has been criticized by Ellsworth (1992) because it does not necessarily question the power relations between teachers and students or encourage students to explore their own contradictory subjectivities. O'Connor, on the other hand, argues that the concept of voice is necessarily political, and he uses it to describe how individuals orient themselves within the cultural politics of educational discourse. O'Connor suggests that it is within classroom discourse that the power relations between students and teachers are realized; thus, he argues that voice is "the basic unit of a politics of discourse" (1989:58). Conceiving of the classroom as a "battleground" where meanings are continuously negotiated between and among students and teacher, O'Connor explains that an individual's voice is necessarily socially-oriented: "The concept of voice describes the process of expressing oneself in a meaningful way through orienting utterances and actions according to the rules of the social discourse" (59-60). O'Connor argues that multicultural educators need to examine how individual students' voices develop (or do not) as part of an interrogation of the dynamics of educational discourse.

As has been well documented (Michaels, 1981; Heath, 1983; Bennett, 1983), mismatches often occur between the voices that students develop through interaction with their home cultures and the voices that are allowed full participation in school language. O'Connor uses the concept of "cultural voice" to explain the particularly painful dynamics of such clashes:

> [W]hile difficult choices are created by the politics of any utterance, the most powerful politics exist in cultural discourses—where appropriate representations are reinforced by bonds of solidarity. Adopting a cultural voice involves assuming a dialogic orientation that is emotionally bound to the ideological principles and values of the cultural horizon (1989:63).

In other words, choosing (or feeling forced) to speak in a voice other than that which they have developed within their families and communities may feel to students like turning away from themselves and what they care about. In *Hunger of Memory*, Rodriguez poignantly expresses this feeling when he writes about how he felt learning English—the school language—when his family spoke Spanish: "I felt that I had shattered the intimate bond that had once held the family close" (1982:3).

For multicultural educators, the connection that O'Connor makes between cultural voices and what he calls "cultural reconstruction" (1989:64) is another convincing argument for paying close attention to both nurturing student voices *and* questioning the politics of educational discourse. Referring to folklorist Glassie's definition of cultural reconstruction as the way that "cultural principles and values are reconstructed each time an individual expresses them" (64), O'Connor suggests that both cultures and individuals may lose the "capacity to evolve" when cultural voices are silenced (64). Recent studies (e.g., Fine, 1989) that have looked at "official school discourse," examining what gets said and what does not, support O'Connor's concern, pointing to silencing and alienation as the results of privileging the dominant discourse and devaluing other cultural voices. While taking into account Ellsworth's caution that any individual student's voice "is a 'teeth-gritting' and often contradictory intersection of voices constituted by gender, race, class, ability, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or ideology," (1992:103) we also need to take seriously O'Connor's vision of cultural genocide as the consequence of not heeding the development of our students' individual and cultural voices.

Narration and the Development of Individual and Cultural Voices

Gee writes that "[o]ne of the primary ways—probably *the* primary way—human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in narrative form" (1985:11). Thus, we tell stories about our lives in order to understand ourselves, and these stories, in turn, affect who we are and who we become. As Grumet suggests, "[w]e are, at least partially, constituted by the stories we tell to others and to ourselves about experience" (1991:69). This conception of the self as formed through discourse—through narration and dialogue—is similar to O'Connor's notion of voice as a socially-oriented construction. Bruner posits a connection between individual and cultural autobiographies analogous to O'Connor's relation of individual and cultural voices:

> Given their constructed nature and their dependence upon the cultural conventions and language usage, life narratives obviously reflect the prevailing theories about "possible lives" that are part of one's culture...eventually the culturally shaped cognitive and linguistic processes that guide the self-telling of life narratives achieve the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory, to segment and purpose-build the very "events" of a life. In the end, we become the autobiographical narratives by which we "tell about" our lives. And given the cultural shaping to which I referred, we also become variants of the culture's canonical forms (1987:15).

Both O'Connor and Bruner suggest that individuals and their cultures shape and are shaped by each other: individual selves are formed within the limitations of culturally possible narratives, and cultures depend on individuals adopting and expressing cultural voices for their reconstruction. These dialectical relationships—between story and self, voice and culture—suggest that narrative can play a powerfully positive role in a multicultural classroom. According to Witherell, "the teller or receiver of stories can discover connections between self and other, penetrate barriers to understanding, and come to know more deeply the meanings of his or her own historical and cultural narrative" (1991:94). Looking closely at how narrative is currently used in our schools, however, reveals that narrative rarely plays that positive role. Perhaps because of their very power to support cultural pluralism and challenge the dominant discourse, students' stories are not being heard.

Narrative and "Essayist Literacy": Stories as Subjugated Knowledge

> The link between formal written discourse and formal knowledge has served, since the Greeks, to exclude whole classes of knowledge and to keep them embedded and preserved in oral tradition....French scholar Michel Foucault (1977) refers to such excluded knowledges as "subjugated knowledges" (Florio-Ruane, 1991:251).

Currently, narrative represents a subjugated form of knowledge-making in our schools and our society. While many college composition teachers, for instance, begin their courses with an assignment asking students to write a personal narrative, they usually feel pressure to "move them on" quickly to less personal and more formal exposition. Narrative is seen as "easy" and as "a cognitive prison that denies students the opportunity to move beyond their own limited world views" (DiPardo, 1990b:61-62). This perception of narrative is a culturally specific one, however. In reality, many cultures use narrative as a sophisticated communicative strategy and mode of knowledge creation. Gee posits the existence of a continuum of communicative strategies, with orally based strategies at one end, and literate-based strategies at the other. He suggests that narrative traditions belong at the oral end of the continuum, while the literate-based strategies reach "their purest form in the essay and in speech that is influenced by so-called 'essayist literacy'" (1985:10). Arguing that our society is biased towards the literate end of the continuum, Gee argues against the application of a deficit model to what are simply differences: "the oral style is often characterized negatively in terms of what it lacks that the literate style has....This only reflects, at the academic level, the literate bias of our culture and the negative attitude at the school level that translates into outright prejudice" (11).

There is no question that, in many teachers' minds, narration occupies the bottom of a hierarchy of discourse forms. As DiPardo relates, schools push students to leave stories behind as they progress through school:

> A discourse closely associated with the oral tradition of one's home and community, personal storytelling is de-emphasized as students approach high school. Students are urged to "outgrow" their early reliance on storytelling and move into the presumably more sophisticated world of abstracted, essayist prose (1990a:47).

What do our students lose when they are urged to outgrow stories? As individuals, they may lose the opportunity to develop their voices in relation to others. In words reminiscent of O'Connor's conception of voice, DiPardo writes about Basic Writing students: "When we push exposition at the expense of personal meaning, we are forgetting foundations: students need a way to belong that is more than a blending in–a way, that is, of becoming a contributing part of this social dynamism, this commonwealth of learners" (1990a:45). Rosen, focusing again on the politics of classroom discourse, suggests that we already know what results when students' stories are devalued: "If we subtract storytelling rights from students in classrooms, then what have they left to say in that rulegoverned setting? We know the answer. We have heard the constrained exchanges and have seen the written evidence" (cited in DiPardo, 1990a:46). Thus, one effect of the devaluation of narrative in our classrooms may be the silencing of individual voices.

Why is narration considered less than exposition? Perhaps the reasons are more political than pedagogical or epistemological. Rosen suggests that the devaluation of narrative is an issue of power—that stories are denigrated simply because everyone has one: "You will not need reminding that in our society common property is suspect. What everyone possesses is scarcely worth possessing" (cited in Dixon, 1989:12). If we consider narrative, as does Gee, to be situated at one end of a continuum of equally valuable communicative strategies, rather than at the bottom of a hierarchy of discourse forms (1985:11), it becomes easier to see that "socialization to the patterns of essayist literacy is not a hallmark of maturation, but, rather, inculcation of a particular set of cultural values" (DiPardo, 1990a:50).

It is important to understand that both narrative and what Bruner (1986) calls "paradigmatic" modes of thinking are found in all cultures (Kutz & Roskelly, 1991:46). However, in many cultures *narrative* modes are the more highly-valued way of making meaning. Labov and Waletzky, for example, found that young people and adults in South Central Harlem used complex narratives to reorganize experience and "to carry out the functions that are important in their system of values" (cited in DiPardo, 1990a:48). Cultures which value relationships consider listening to and telling stories to be an especially powerful way of learning. In Scott Momaday's novel *The House Made of Dawn*, a Native American preacher talks about how he learned from his grandmother's stories: "When she told me those old stories something strange and good and powerful was going on. I was a child and the old woman was asking me to come directly into the presence of her mind and spirit" (1968:88). Clearly, the mode of discourse that a culture uses to create knowledge is directly related to the values of that culture. Therefore, the devaluation of narration in our schools and society, in and of itself, invites some cultural voices and silences others.

By comparing the nature of essayist literacy—the preferred discourse mode of the dominant culture in America—to the nature of narrative, we can better understand both the values of the dominant culture and the educational discourse politics that function to maintain current power relations. Bruner makes a distinction between two modes of thought that parallel these forms of literacy:

he calls them the narrative mode and the "paradigmatic" or "logico-scientific" mode. Bruner argues that each mode provides "distinctive ways of ordering experience, of constructing reality" (1986:11). He characterizes the paradigmatic mode as attempting "to fulfill the ideal of a formal, mathematical system of description and explanation....It deals in general causes, and in their establishment, and makes uses of procedures to assure verifiable reference and to test for empirical truth" (12-13). In contrast, the narrative mode "deals in human or human-like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course. It strives to put its timeless miracles into the particulars of experience, and to locate the experience in time and place" (13). While narratives focus on particular contexts, paradigmatic thought strives toward abstractions. Perhaps the value the dominant culture in our society places on the latter mode has to do with the ability of abstractions to smooth over individual differences with generalities. If we speak in abstract terms, we are less likely to encounter the realities of the other's situation; therefore, we may be able to avoid negotiating meanings or struggling over what is true.

Bennett discusses how paradigmatic thought assumes that truth is in the text and suggests that this assumption of neutrality contributes to the maintenance of the societal status quo:

> An important characteristic of the essayist model of discourse is that the discovery of truth is placed in an essentially non-negotiable context. Text rules (e.g., the canons of formal logic and general principles of "empirical" validation) provide the basis for choosing what is to be accepted, believed and understood as true, rather than situated negotiations of intent and understanding by means of which participants jointly tie particular truths to particular contexts... (1983:56-57).

According to Bennett, the danger in this form of discourse rests in the "removal of truth from the personalized subject" (57). He cites Foucault, who relates truth to power:

> Truth isn't outside power, or lacking in power....Truth is a thing of this world: it is produced only by multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its general politics of truth: that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true...(cited in Bennett, 1983:59).

Bennett's argument, which he illustrates with the narrative of Carlos, an eleven-year-old Mexican American boy, is that by privileging "the ideal texts of essayist forms of literacy," we are separating "knower from known" and limiting the development of forms of dialectical understanding which might lead to change (73). Bennett supports Dixon's claim that "abstractions mean nothing when divorced from experience, though it is true enough that abstractions divorced from experience can be used as dehumanizing tools" (1989:13). Of his informant's story, Bennett says: "I think Carlos' narrative invites such [dialectical] understanding, and in this sense it is again 'on the border': it brings us into contact with a new world, changing our old one, thereby changing us—*if* we engage in an act of appropriation" (72). Bennett's final point is an important one—the power of narrative is not just to change the teller but to affect the listener as well. At issue, however, is the question of how well we can hear the stories that depart from the ideal texts of our particular cultures.

The Consequences of Cultural Differences in Narrative Styles

While we can place narrative at the other end of a continuum from essayist literacy, we need to remember that narratives are not all the same. Collins points out that "telling stories, representing experience in narrative form, is a panhuman capability" (1985:59). However, he qualifies this statement by asserting that "this shared human capacity to render experience meaningful in narrative takes different forms in different cultures" (59). Oral narratives may differ in linguistic structures (e.g., use of temporal or logical linkages), intonation, topic-centeredness and expectations about audience participation (Labov, 1972; Collins, 1985; Gee, 1989). Within the narrative end of the oral to literate strategies continuum, then, there are cultural forms of narrative that are closer to and farther from exposition, the discourse of power. Studies analyzing the narratives of children from different cultures and investigating how they are dealt with in the classroom reinforce O'Connor's suggestion that the classroom is a battlefield in which students and teachers struggle for meaning. Unfortunately, the results of such studies also indicate that, even in classrooms where well-meaning teachers are trying to help their students gain access to mainstream literacy, the students whose cultural stories are most removed from essayist literacy are losing the battle.

Michaels (1981) studied sharing time in an ethnically-mixed first grade classroom. During sharing time, students are called upon to share a story about a past experience with the class. The teacher uses questions and comments to try to help the students structure their stories. The goal of this intervention, according to Michaels, is to "bridge the gap between the child's home-based oral discourse competence and the acquisition of literate discourse features required in written communication" (423). Comparing the narratives of a White, middle-class child and a working class African American child, Michaels writes:

> These two examples are representative of stable patterns of differential treatment, characteristic of sharing time interaction over the entire school year. In one case, the shared sense of topic, and a synchronization of questions and responses enabled teacher and child collectively to create an account that was lexically and grammatically more elaborate than what the child would be likely to create on his or her own. In the other case, lack of a sense of topic, differing narrative schemata, and apparent misreading of prosodic cues resulted in asynchronous pacing of teacher/child exchanges, fragmentation of the topic, and misevaluation of intent on the part of both teacher and child (440).

According to Michaels, being misevaluated is not the only result of sharing a narrative that does not match the (White middle-class) teacher's "ideal text"; an additional consequence is that the teacher's perception of the student's literacy affects the student's access to other classroom literacy events. "Sharing time, then can either provide or deny access to key literacy-related events, depending, ironically, on the degree to which teacher and child start out 'sharing' a set of discourse conventions and strategies" (423).

Gee (1989) describes a similar "losing battle" in his analysis of two narratives from eleven year-old girls: one from "Leona," an African American girl, and a second from "Sandy," a Caucasian girl. Gee concludes, like Michaels, that some stories are considered better than others in our schools: "Sandy's style bears the hallmarks of school-based essay-text literacy; unfortunately, children like Leona are often judged as if they were aiming for this style and missing it rather than doing something quite different and doing it well" (108). Gee also points out that, even if she were being given opportunities to learn to switch to a narrative style more consistent with the dominant discourse, Leona would still be "losing":

> Narrative style is associated with one's cultural identity and presentation of self. Therefore, a change in style can amount to a change in social identity. We know from Leona's history in school that the school has not given Leona full access to the uses of language and literacy that would enable her to switch to Sandy's style. But the matter is deeper, too: such a style is connected with another culture's mode of expression, presentation of self, and way of making sense, encapsulating values that may at points conflict with Leona's cultural values. The school does not understand or value Leona's mode of expression, doesn't see its connection to a culture and sense of self, and doesn't understand the full implications of asking Leona to switch that style (109).

The implications to which Gee points are personal, cultural, and societal. Asking Leona to learn a new way to tell stories may silence her voice or alienate her from school literacy. On the other hand, if she does successfully switch, she may, like Richard Rodriguez, lose her connection with her culture–her cultural voice. As O'Connor tells us, this could have implications for that culture; without individuals to express and thus reconstruct their value systems and principles, cultures may also be silenced. Finally, on a societal level, the consequences of not hearing certain kinds of stories may include the suppression of individual and cultural diversity and, ultimately, the continuation of existing inequities.

Leona's is a sad story, and we are left with a dilemma. As Delpit (1988) has argued, all students have the right to know that there is a language of power and to know the codes that give them access to this discourse. On the other hand, teachers' responses to students' stories seem to indicate that speaking in a non-mainstream cultural voice may limit, a priori, students' opportunities to practice the voice of the dominant culture. Can students develop and maintain their cultural voices and also learn the codes of power? Can teachers learn to hear and value stories different from their own? Can multicultural education integrate students' stories, interrupting the dynamics of cultural politics in classrooms, and transforming the staus quo? What will it take to tell a new story?

Learning to Listen: Imagining a Different Story

The purpose of looking closely at the current role of narrative in multicultural education is not just to illuminate disturbing realities. More importantly, the reason for understanding "the ways things are" is to understand how to change them. A key to this process is the constructed nature of our society: "Social realities are not bricks that we trip over or bruise ourselves on when we kick at them, but the meanings that we achieve by the sharing of human cognition" (Bruner, 1986:122). Thus, as Bruner puts it, "the object of understanding human events is to sense the alternativeness of human possibility" (53). Stories are one way for us to imagine possible worlds; they allow us to see alternative paths and new ways of thinking. In order to understand the potential of stories in multicultural education, we need to tell ourselves a new story, one that reflects an understanding of current discourse politics but that also looks beyond them.

The first step in moving beyond the dilemma involves learning to listen. Informed by an awareness of the politics of discourse, we (teachers in multicultural classrooms) need to teach ourselves about varieties of human expression, remind ourselves that other forms are as valuable as our own, and learn to monitor our culturally specific reactions to others' stories. As DiPardo writes:

> If stories are to be shared productively in culturally pluralistic classrooms, a different way of looking is needed–a way characterized by a careful attention to differences, respect for linguistic diversity, and cautious awareness of the possibility of miscommunication (1990a:49).

The first result of such a shift might be a growing sensitivity on our part to our students' cultures. In our imaginary multicultural classroom, students of different ethnicities, classes, and genders will feel comfortable sharing their stories because the teacher will strive to encounter students "on their own terms," thus demonstrating that she values their individual and cultural voices. Because their stories are being heard, students will have the chance to strengthen these voices, exploring themselves and their cultural narratives. According to Cooper, in their 1986 study of women's ways of knowing, Belenky et al. found that "the development of voice was particularly important in the establishment of epistemological perspectives that locate one's self within the context of one's culture" (1991:97). It is through this kind of "location" that students can gain a position from which to critique the dominant discourse. As Lee points out, "[s]tudents from poor communities, from ethnically diverse communities, need desperately to assume a voice" (1991:7) in order to become the critical readers that a democracy demands. As different cultural stories are shared, students in our multicultural classroom will learn that different does not mean lesser. At the same time, though, they will talk about these differences and, with their teacher's help, learn to question the politics of discourse and its real life implications for their stories and for their cultures.

While the latter part of this process sounds similar to what has been called critical pedagogy, there are two important reasons for telling stories rather than critiquing the hegemony using *only* essayist prose, the language of logic and rationality. The first is that, as Lorde, puts it, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" (1979:112); the language of abstractions is currently the language of power, and, as Bennett explains, partly responsible for the domination and dehumanization of non-mainstream cultures (1983:57,73). The fact that narrative is a subjugated form of knowledge implies that simply by re-valuing stories we can begin to change current power relations. Secondly, the values which underlie narrative modes of discourse can be seen as inherently more transformative than those which inform essayist literacy. For example, Bruner writes that, while "there is a heartlessness" to the logic that proceeds from paradigmatic thought, "narrative is built upon concern for the human condition" (1986:13-14). And, as Noddings points out, simply knowing about suffering and oppression is not enough: "So far as can be judged from available evidence, people quite capable of intellectual concentration are neither more or less likely to attend compassionately to the afflictions of others" (1991:161). What is especially powerful and transformative about stories is that they hold cognition and emotion together; they provide a way of thinking that is not divorced from our feelings. Tappan and Brown discuss narration and reflection, arguing that stories help us become moral authorities in our own lives:

> We suggest that authorship not only expresses itself through narrative, it develops through narrative. This is because when an individual tells a moral story about an experience in his life, he must necessarily reflect on that experience....Consequently, such narration also entails learning from the event narrated, in the sense that the individual has the opportunity to consider what happened, what he thought, felt and did, and how things turned out (1991:182).

This relationship, then, between narration, reflection and a sense of moral responsibility argues that storytelling might be seen as a way to deepen our relations with ourselves and with others, providing us with a "springboard to ethical action" (Witherell & Noddings, 1991:8).

Given this potential, can stories transform society? A close look at the cultural politics of discourse in our schools suggests that they might, but only if the stories we tell *about* the classroom change. As Pagano argues, theorists and researchers also tell stories:

> Educational theories are stories about how teaching and learning work, about who does what to whom and for what purposes; and, most particularly, educational theories are *stories about the kind of world we want to live in and about what we should do to make that world* (1991:197; emphasis added).

The challenge, then, for multicultural educators, is to understand the politics of narrative in the classroom and at the same time, to strive to tell a better story.

References

Belenky, M., Clinchy, B., Goldberger, N. & Tarule, J. (1986). *Women's ways of knowing: The development of self, voice, and mind.* New York: Basic Books, Inc.

Bennett, A. (1983). Discourses of power, the dialectics of understanding, the power of literacy. *Journal of Education,* 165, 53-74.

Bruner, J. (1986). *Actual minds, possible worlds.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bruner, J. (1987). Life as narrative. *Social Research, 54,* (1), 11-32.

Collins, J. (1985). Some problems and purposes of narrative analysis in educational research. *Journal of Education , 167* (1), 57-70.

Cooper, J. (1991). Telling our own stories: The reading and writing of journals or diaries. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 96-112). New York: Teachers College Press.

Delpit, L. (1988). Silenced Dialogue: Power and pedagogy in educating other people's children. *Harvard Educational Review ,* 58, 84-102.

DiPardo, A. (1990a). Narrative knowers, expository knowledge: Discourse as dialectic. *Written communication, 7* (1), 59-95.

DiPardo, A. (1990b, February). Narrative discourse in the Basic Writing class: Meeting the challenge of cultural pluralism. *Teaching English in the Two Year College (*pp. 45-53).

Dixon, K. (1989). Intellectual development and the place of narrative in "Basic" and freshman composition. *Journal of Basic Writing, 8* (1), 3-20.

Ellsworth, E. (1992). Why doesn't this feel empowering? Working through the repressive myths of critical pedagogy. In C. Luke & J. Gore (Eds.), *Feminisms and critical pedagogy*. New York: Routledge.

Fine, M. (1989). Silencing and nurturing in an improbable context: Urban adolescents in public school. In H. Giroux & M. McLaren (Eds.), *Critical pedagogy, the state and cultural practice*. Albany, New York: State University Press.

Florio-Ruane, S. (1991). Conversation and narrative in collaborative research: An ethnography of the written literacy forum. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 234-256). New York: Teachers College Press.

Gee, J. (1985). The narrativization of experience in the oral style. *Journal of Education, 167* (1), 9-31.

Gee, J. (1989). Two styles of narrative construction and their linguistic and educational implications. *Journal of Education, 171* (1), 97-109.

Grumet, M. (1991). The politics of personal knowledge. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 67-78). New York: Teachers College Press.

Heath, S. (1983). *Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kutz, E.,& Roskelly, H. (1991). *An unquiet pedagogy: Transforming practice in the English classroom.* Portsmouth, New Hampshire: Boynton Cook.

Labov, W. (1972). The transformation of experience in narrative syntax. In W. Labov (Ed.), *Language in the inner city: Studies in Black English vernacular* (pp. 354-396). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lee, C. (1991, April). Big picture talkers/Words walking without masters: The instructional implications for ethnic voices for an expanded literacy. Presented at AERA at an invited Address Symposium Literacy and Cultural Diversity: Voices, Visibility and Empowerment.

Lorde, A. (1979). The master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. In A. Lorde (Ed), *Sister outsider.* Trumansburg: The Crossing Press, 1984.

Michaels, S. (1981). "Sharing time": Children's narrative styles and differential access to literacy. *Language in Society*, 10, 423-42.

Momaday, S. (1968). *The house made of dawn.* New York: Harper and Row.

Noddings, N. (1984). *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press.

Noddings, N. (1991). Stories in dialogue: Caring and interpersonal reasoning. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 157-170). New York: Teachers College Press.

O'Connor, T. (1989). Cultural voice and strategies for multicultural education. *Journal of Education*, *171* (2), 57-74.

Pagano, J. (1991). Moral fictions: The dilemma of theory and practice. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 193-206). New York: Teachers College Press.

Rodriguez, R. (1982). *Hunger of memory: The education of Richard Rodriguez.* Toronto: Bantam.

Sleeter, C. (Ed.). (1991). *Empowerment through multicultural Education*. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Tappan, M. & Brown, L. (1991). Stories told and lessons learned: Toward a narrative approach to moral development and moral education. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 171-192). New York: Teachers College Press.

Witherell, C. (1991). The self in narrative: A journey into paradox. In C. Witherell & N. Noddings (Eds.), *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education* (pp. 83-95). New York: Teachers College Press.

Witherell, C. & Noddings, N. (1991). *Stories lives tell: Narrative and dialogue in education.* New York: Teachers College Press.